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POLAND UNDER NAZI RULE

From: T. H. CHYLINSKI, Vice Consul.

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Enclosure: Map of Warsaw.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

The following report covers conditions in Poland during the period from September 27, 1939, i.e. the date on which hostilities in Warsaw ceased, to August 19, 1941 on which date I left the Country. In as much as the writer found it inadvisable to carry written material, he is obliged to depend solely upon memory. It must also be pointed out that since I was a Consular Officer accredited to the former Polish Government my position vis-a-vis the Germans was very delicate and every precaution had to be taken not to arouse suspicions by engaging in activities to which they might take exception. The Gestapo and other German authorities in Warsaw were fully aware of my presence in the City, as well as of my connection with the Embassy in Berlin, and took pains to shadow not only myself but also others with whom I came in contact. Working under these conditions was not easy and therefore much desirable information could not be obtained. Despite these handicaps, however, every effort has been made in this report to give an unbiased picture of conditions prevailing in Poland by embodying either first-hand information or data obtained from reliable sources.

Caution should be exercised in the use of this report as it contains certain information which could jeopardize persons and institutions in Poland.

Situation in Warsaw Prior to Entry by German Troops.

September 27, 1939 dawned in Warsaw with ominous stillness after the deafening roar of the previous weeks. Through clouds of heavy smoke and dust the survivors cautiously emerged from cellars and other hiding places furtively glancing upward expecting the hail of bombs and shell to resume the terrible destruction. Exhausted and haggard they groped in the smoking ruins excavating mutilated bodies or searched for some piece of their belongings which might still be used. It was a scene of utter desolation and tragedy. The city had been cut off from the outside world for so long (radios had been inoperative since September 24th) that nobody knew what was happening elsewhere. There were rumors that the British had landed troops in Danzig, Königsberg and Stettin and were proceeding toward Warsaw; that Smigly Rydz and remnants of the Polish Army had joined Soviet troops then supposed to be only a few miles away also proceeding toward the besieged City; and finally that a twenty-four hour truce had been arranged to bury the dead on both sides. The possibility of surrender was whispered about but the thought of it was too terrifying and many openly demanded that the fight be continued to a decision. If left to itself, Warsaw probably would have continued to resist for a few days longer in spite of the heavy casualties, destruction, and lack of food and water. Soon, however, the news of the negotiations and impending surrender was confirmed by officers and soldiers streaming into the city from the outer defenses. The impact of the truth was cruel. Many officers committed suicide, soldiers bitterly accused the higher ranks of incompetency and outright

treason,

treason, and all blamed the Government and specially Smigly Rydz for ordering Warsaw to resist and then leaving it to its fate.

The Germans Take Possession.

German troops began entering the City on September 30th and by the next day they were in full control. Order was immediately restored - there had been some looting of stores and apartments - and work was begun immediately on removing debris and barricades from the streets, extricating corpses from beneath ruined buildings, removing hundreds of dead horses lying in the streets and courtyards (horsemeat was the only meat available in the city during the siege), filling in bomb craters, extinguishing fires, removing large numbers of shell and bomb duds and restoring the life lines of the city. Transportation, power, gas and water were restored eventually to working condition. Food supply was the most difficult problem confronting the Germans and at first army field kitchens had to be used to feed the population. One such kitchen was stationed two blocks from the Chancery, and the queue extended for several blocks down Aleje Ujazdowskie. Thin soup and black bread were dispensed to the tune of merry waltzes and marches played by a military band. The Germans took moving pictures of these relief activities. Special cars equipped with motion-picture cameras would grind away for hours. Many Poles seeing this would leave the bread lines in disgust. The films were later shown in German theatres in Warsaw with the caption: "German soldiers sharing food with their erstwhile enemies".

Behavior of Regular Troops.

The troops were exceptionally well disciplined and behaved well, except for some requisitioning of bedding from the Jewish population. There was no celebrating and the men on the whole were glum--to them it was all in the day's work. Though the presence of the Germans was extremely depressing to the Poles, the two weeks during which the City was in the hands of the Army was a comparatively peaceful period compared with that which was to follow when Himmler's men took control. Some of the soldiers and older officers were human in their own way. Occasionally I saw a soldier giving a loaf of bread to some poor woman or helping her with a heavy bundle or stopping to pat a small child on the head. During the cold winter months Army teamsters hauling coke frequently would throw pieces of the precious fuel into the street where they would be picked up by the needy. Bavarians and Austrians were said to be the most kindly disposed toward the Poles. Despite this kindly exterior, the Army was making arrests, but these were not as numerous or as savage as those later made by the Gestapo. Concealment of arms and the destruction of German or Polish military property carried a death penalty and many people paid

it,

it, including one American citizen.

TERROR

Having lived in Warsaw under the German occupation for a year and ten months, I can testify to the sufferings of the people at the hands of the Gestapo. The bloody reign started about the middle of October 1939. By that time the Army had thinned out considerably but the numbers of the Gestapo increased daily. General Neumann-Neurode, Warsaw's military commandant, formally turned the City over to Reichskommissar Otto on October 15, 1939, thus opening the way for Himmler's men. A high pressure terror campaign was launched almost immediately with the object of putting away the leaders of the people and to beating the remainder into submission. I had been in contact with a few of these men (lawyers, professors, doctors and others) and I know the Poles in Warsaw had no intention of staging a revolt. They had been through too much. They had experienced only too well the might of the German military machine and, furthermore, possessed no arms, organization or leadership with which to oppose the invader. There appears to be no logical explanation for the arrests, executions and other tortures carried out by the Gestapo. Round-ups, executions (without even the semblance of a trial), confiscation of property and homes as well as humiliations in various forms kept the population in a state of fear and mental torture. Later on, in 1940, the execution squad was replaced by the concentration camp, which is almost equivalent to a death sentence. Lawyers, political leaders, party members, priests and people of education or intelligence above the average level were sent by thousands of these camps only because they were Poles. Despite these conditions, the morale of the people was exceptionally good and remained so up to the time I left Warsaw.

Round-ups and Mass Arrests.

The rounding up of thousands of men on streets, in trolley cars and restaurants occurred whenever the concentration camps were ready or when the Reich needed labor for farms and factories. The two categories were sorted out after each mass arrest and disposed of accordingly. Such hauls often netted a certain number of persons belonging to the underground or who knew something about its work. Sometimes persons were caught with pamphlets published by some of the organizations. All notes and personal memoranda were carefully checked and sometimes this resulted in the arrest of additional innocent people. The usual procedure following a round-up was to check carefully on the identity and status of the arrested persons and to segregate them into two general classes: (a) the "intelligentsia" and (b) material adaptable for labor in the Reich.

The first category, embracing political leaders,
scientists,

scientists, lawyers and prominent persons in general is taken to the Gestapo prisons (Dzielna, Pawiak and Mokotow in Warsaw) where they often waited months in terrible conditions before any action is taken. "Dangerous" persons, that is, those belonging to the underground or known to be ill-disposed toward the Germans, face firing squads within a few days. The less important individuals are sent to the famous concentration camps in Dachau, Madhausen, Oranienburg Auschwitz and others where a lingering death awaits them. Few persons are released from Gestapo prisons in Warsaw. Those who have been fortunate enough to be released tell of overcrowded, filthy cells, poor food and beatings. From the Polish Red Cross I learned of the outbreak of typhoid fever in the prisons on September 7, 1940. The Red Cross requested permission of the Gestapo to disinfect the prisons. Permission was granted after the lapse of a week for only the Mokotow prison. Permission for the other prisons was refused.

Those in the second category, that is, the lower and working classes, are far better off. Sometimes they are permitted to go to their homes for an hour or two to pack some clothing and food and bid their families farewell (under guard, of course) and then are routed to a central distributing point either in Kutno or Poznan where a further segregation takes place. Those having a knowledge of farming, live stock breeding or blacksmithing are sent to work on farms in the Reich. These have a certain amount of freedom but must wear the letter "P" on their coats, they receive fairly good food and relatively good treatment. Most important are the good chances to escape and return to Poland. Fully a dozen such escapes have come to my knowledge and it is presumed that they are numerous.

The remainder of the human shipment is divided into (a) factory laborers and (b) common laborers. Factory workers are sent to ammunition and armament plants in those parts of the Reich which are subject to R.A.F. raids. There they relieve German workers who are moved to safer areas in Czechoslovakia and Poland. Letters are received from these people indicating heavy casualties as a result of bombings. Common laborers are assigned to mobile demolition squads in the bombed areas where they are required to do the dangerous work in removing debris and wrecking bombed buildings. A number of them are engaged in this work in Berlin. Other laborers load and unload trucks, dig sewer trenches and do other heavy physical labor.

Heavily guarded trains transport the prisoners from Warsaw jails to concentration camps, but after unusually heavy raids the Gestapo use their covered trucks for the purpose. I have seen cavalcades of 50 or more trucks each carrying 20 to 25 prisoners and a guard of five Gestapo men under convoy of armed motor cars and many motor-cycles with machine guns mounted on side cars passing down the main streets of Warsaw headed in the direction of the Reich. Despite the heavy guard, the

prisoners

prisoners often manage to drop notes on scraps of paper giving names of persons caught and their probable fate.

The covered Gestapo truck is the scourge of Warsaw. People shudder when these trucks careen down the streets. At night conditions become worse; everyone prays that the trucks will not stop in front of their home. The sound of grinding brakes is often the forerunner of tragedy for those within earshot.

Individual Arrests.

After the first few mass arrests the Gestapo settled down to methodically picking up those of the "intelligentsia" who had succeeded in eluding their drag nets. The round-up system, however, was not abandoned and probably will continue to be used as long as the Nazis are in Poland. The Gestapo combed the registration records in the City Hall and together with names supplied by their own spies and informers (mostly domestic servants, factory workers and Jews) began to arrest people singly in their homes. At first, many of these persons were executed in Warsaw, later such individuals were routed to one of the concentration camps. Charges of violating the foreign exchange regulations, and dealing in smuggled or prohibited merchandise were invented at will. These arrests sometimes came in series - again they were restricted only to certain parts of the City.

The technique of the single arrest is as follows: Two or three Gestapo men, one speaking fluent Polish, call at a home around 3 a.m. They take with them the doorman of the building and force him to assure the tenants of the apartment that he desires to enter the premises only for the purpose of checking a faulty water valve or for some similar purpose. When the unsuspecting victim opens the door the Gestapo men rush in with drawn revolvers, immediately lock the inmates in separate rooms and proceed to "examine" the premises. Each person is cross examined, possible hiding places for jewelry, money, letters or other material sought are closely examined and if nothing is found, the victims are beaten about the face and body with riding whips or black-jacks until the desired information is divulged. These investigations ordinarily last for hours and the scene afterwards is revolting. Everything in the apartment is turned inside out, paintings are torn from their frames, furniture is broken, contents of closets and drawers are dumped onto the floor, and pillows and mattresses are ripped open. A semblance of an inventory is made of articles confiscated--sometimes receipts are given but small pieces of jewelry, jade carvings, gold watches and diamonds are taken as "souvenirs". After the investigation is completed, the arrested person is escorted to a car waiting below and taken to Gestapo headquarters. If the person they are after is absent, all others who happen to be on the premises are arrested as security. Wives, husbands and children are preferred as hostages. If the person wanted is not apprehended within a few

days,

days, the hostages are either shot or taken to concentration camps. Frequently one arrest leads to a series. The Gestapo arrested a certain dentist in Warsaw and instructed the door maid, under penalty of death, to admit patients as usual. In this manner fifteen other persons fell into the hands of the Gestapo.

It is sometimes possible to secure the release of a person arrested on an unimportant charge or one who is being held on no particular charge, provided the interested person has enough money to grease the right palm and knows who "takes" money. A mistake here is always fatal: I have heard of several cases which were successful, the bribe ranging as high as 5000 zlotys (\$1,000). Much depends upon the gravity of the case and the financial resources of the interested party. The Gestapo observe rigidly all the rules of professional gangsters and never touch money themselves. They have "go-betweens" who take care of financial matters. Volksdeutsch and sometimes renegade Poles act in that capacity. Two cases of unscrupulous Polish lawyers acting as intermediaries have come to my attention. The go-betweens milk the client as long as possible, extracting thousands of zlotys for fees, bribes, receptions and so forth. One of the lawyers was notorious for extorting money from a large number of persons, mostly women, ostensibly to release Poles from concentration camps. None was released but he continued to take money after notices were sent out by the prison authorities that the person had already died. His methods probably became too embarrassing--he was arrested by the Gestapo and soon executed.

There have been numerous cases of raids and investigations about which Gestapo headquarters claim to have no knowledge whatsoever. To all outward appearances the raiders seem to be genuine, they wear the regulation uniforms and equipment and act like the Gestapo. They even issue receipts for money and jewelry which they "confiscate". These papers bear what appear to be genuine Gestapo rubber stamp impressions. Through a Polish interpreter the chief of the squad instructs the victims in faultless German to call the next day at a certain room in Gestapo headquarters for further investigation and action. The hoax is disclosed when the victim reports as instructed only to find himself in a jam. These fake raids infuriate the officers and if the victim is not careful he may receive a beating in the bargain. If he persists in pressing the matter by calling frequently or filing a complaint, he may be arrested and sent to a concentration camp. It is presumed these raids are actually made by real Gestapo men for their own personal gain. The Germans claim these raids are made by Poles disguised as Gestapo men.

Arrests of Women and Girls.

Women and girls are subject to arrests equally with men for political and criminal offenses but have not been

subjected

subjected to round-ups. They are usually kept in a Pawiak and Siberia prisons in Warsaw where I understand conditions leave much to be desired. Many girls of high school age were arrested for attending secret classes maintained by their former teachers. Several have been caught removing German posters and announcements, or distributing publications issued by the "underground" organization. On the whole, it must be said that the women and girls in Warsaw have given a good account of themselves. During the "V" campaign I saw them smearing German "V"s and chalking counter "V"s on walls and fences.

A good deal is being said in Warsaw about girls taken for purposes of prostitution but I can vouch personally for only two cases of this kind. In October 1939 two young ladies were taken off the street in broad daylight in the center of the city by two German non-commissioned officers who forced them into a car and drove away to a building on the outskirts where the girls were forced to participate in a dance. Both of them escaped unharmed by making their way to a second story window and descending to the ground unobserved. In the other case, a young lady known personally to me was stopped in the evening on a dark street and forced into a truck full of soldiers but also succeeded in escaping soon after. The Warsaw daily "Nowy Kurier Warszawski" frequently publishes notices of missing girls but it is not thought that all of them have been picked up by the Germans. Even though these rumors may not be true, their distracting effect on parents is easily understandable. I know mothers who will not allow their children to go out unaccompanied even in the daytime; they shun parks and certain streets on which hunts frequently occur.

Mass Executions.

As reprisals for the murdering of Germans, the Gestapo stages mass executions. On December 26, 1939, in the small town of Wawer near Warsaw approximately 150 Poles were mowed down with machine guns in reprisal for the murder of two German soldiers in a brawl with two notorious bandits. Several German soldiers have been killed in and around Warsaw, chiefly in drunken brawls or in brothels. In such cases the Gestapo immediately arrive on the scene, rope off the block in which the killing occurred and proceed to raze all the buildings and streets with machine gun fire. In the country districts they have also been known to set fire to villages for the same reason and shoot the inhabitants when they flee from burning buildings. I have personally seen streets in the districts of Praga and Wola where the bodies of Poles killed during punitive expeditions were left lying for several hours where they dropped as an object lesson to others. The murder of Igo Sym, a German spy, resulted in the execution of only "several hostages" taken to "atone for the cold blooded murder" as the Germans described it. Collective responsibility also has been made the subject of a special order of

army

army headquarters after the outbreak of the Russo-German war providing capital punishment for hostages taken in the event of sabotage or damage to German military equipment or objects. Shortly after the outbreak of the war in the east, a few yards of copper wire were stolen from an army supply dump near Paderewski Park in Praga. About 60 hostages were taken from houses in the near vicinity. A notice was posted in all public places that these persons would be executed if the perpetrators of the "crime" did not surrender within 3 days. They were not found and an unstated number of persons were executed as announced in a subsequent public notice.

Hostages.

To insure safety to visiting high officials, such as General Governor Franck for example, several hundred hostages are taken and if anything untoward happens - all of them may face the firing squad. When in Warsaw, Franck stays in a house on Szopena Street formerly occupied by the Czech Minister to Poland. A day or two before his arrival, sixty or seventy men and boys are selected from buildings in adjacent blocks. If everything goes well and their police records are clean, they are released.

Polish national holidays and anniversaries are also "safe-guarded" by hundreds of hostages. Some of these have been kept for months, others have never been heard from.

In time, the male population becomes so "jittery" that a rumor is enough to start a panicky exodus to some other part of the city. I personally witnessed such a stampede over the Kierbedzia bridge on the Vistula river after the rumored killing of a German soldier on the Praga side. An hour or two later a similar stampede occurred in a different part of the city. This was regarded by the Germans as an excellent joke. Many Poles would not dare to return to their homes for days, others made it a regular practice to change sleeping quarters every two or three days.

Following is a chronological record of the principal round-ups and arrests which I recall. The record pertains chiefly to the City of Warsaw and no claim is made for completeness.

(Before August 1940).

Arrests were almost a daily occurrence and too numerous to record.

A friend of mine, a doctor, was stopped after curfew on his way to visit a patient. Doctors possessed

special

special passes which permitted them to go out after curfew. He was stopped by a patrol and ordered to show his documents and was putting his hand into his pocket when he was shot. Either his killer was drunk or he had mistaken the motion of the doctor's hand as reaching for a gun.

A young girl, aged 16, was charged with tearing down and destroying German posters. She was executed the next day. Several of her schoolmates were also arrested. Their fate is unknown.

A boy scout, aged 15, was executed in the garden in the rear of Polizeistrasse 16 for criticizing Gestapo men who had placed a black crepe on the Polish emblem on a field radio station captured from the Poles.

I was stopped several times during this period by Feldpolizei and Gestapo patrols picking people off the streets at random, probably searching for Polish officers and men. They were very much surprised when shown my American passport. The document in each case was returned with a sneer. On August 28, 1939 when walking down one of the side streets in the direction of the Chancery about thirty minutes before curfew, I felt cold steel pressed against my neck and was gruffly ordered to throw my hands up. The Gestapo man then came around in front pressing his revolver to my stomach and demanding my documents. I told him where he could find them and he began to search. His uncertain movements and swaying proved him to be drunk. He finally found the passport but could not understand much from it, went through my bill-fold but as there was not much in it, he returned both. Just then he caught sight of a better prospect and released me.

(August 1940).

At dawn on August 11, 1940 the Gestapo put out dragnets in certain parts of the city, and arrested all men and boys happening to be on the streets, in trolley cars, droshkis or in nearby buildings. After their documents of identity were examined they were hustled away in motor trucks which had been kept in readiness in side streets. I witnessed this from the windows of the Chancery. Later on in the day I was caught in a net on Nowy Swiat and got out thanks to my passport. Most of the arrested men were between 16 and 35 but much older men were also seen. The hunt lasted until noon and was continued in various parts of Warsaw during the following two days with somewhat less fury. According to a conservative estimate the total number taken in Warsaw was 11,000. At least a portion of the prisoners were herded on the site of the old railroad station of the intersection of Marszalkowska and Jerozolimska, and also along the tracks toward the freight yards on Zelazna Street. Polish railway men later informed me that about one-half of the arrested persons were taken to dig trenches on the eastern border while the others were sent in the

direction

direction of Kutno and presumably into the Reich. A large number of Warsaw lawyers were included in this round-up. Several persons were killed by the Gestapo when attempting to escape. One was killed in front of the Hotel Polonia opposite the railway station by two Gestapo men. Another was shot in the same manner on Saska Kepa. At least two women were killed for warning men on the streets to take cover. I personally saw the shooting at point blank of an elderly Polish lady by an infuriated Gestapo officer. She was walking along Nowy Swiat in the central part of Warsaw and, seeing what was happening she motioned to a young man to run in the opposite direction.

(September 1940).

On September 17, 1940, the Gestapo raided a large apartment house on Lwowska Street. A shooting fray followed, presumably with Polish officers in hiding. Two Gestapo men were shot. All the tenants were arrested and the building was sealed. The fate of many of these people is unknown.

A young workman was caught after curfew in the Zoliborz district and shot in the back. His body was found next morning by passers-by with a card pinned to his coat: "This is the penalty for violating the curfew".

On September 18, 1940 about twenty-five Polish attorneys were rounded up and sent to Auschwitz concentration camp where they were imprisoned with German criminals.

Shots one frequently heard on the streets after dark. The bodies of four Poles were found lying on the streets after one bloody night. I saw two of them on Polzeistrasse in the vicinity of Gestapo headquarters. They were not removed until late in the afternoon, apparently as an example for others. I was then living opposite Gestapo headquarters (from October 11, 1939 to November 16, 1939) and could see much that was happening.

On September 19, 1940 a large scale man-hunt was on in the suburbs (Zoliborz, Bielany) and also in the slum district of Wola. It began at three o'clock in the morning. Men were dragged from their beds. Only minors under 18, street car workers, railway men and municipal employees were spared. The total number taken in this hunt was estimated at 4,000. This was supposed to be a labor contingent for the farms and factories in the Reich. Some of these were heard from after several months.

(January 1941).

Round-ups and individual arrests occurred almost every day. During the period from January 7 to 12, the suburbs of Czerniakow, Marymont and Zdobycz Robotnicza

were

were most affected. Arrests usually took place at night or just before daybreak. I have spoken with men who were warned in time and saved themselves only by burrowing into deep snow drifts and remaining there for hours until the danger had passed. The cold during those days was extremely bitter; many men contracted pneumonia. Two truckloads of unfortunates were brought to the Gdanski railway station. Among them were two Polish police commissioners, probably of the few who had refused to swear allegiance to the Germans. There were also several Catholic priests, one wearing only a light cassock and bedroom slippers. Many of the other men wore only socks, others had no over-coats.

On January 12, two tenement houses in the poorer section of the city (Tamka Street) were surrounded by Gestapo men. All the tenants, (mostly women and children) were taken away in trucks. Judging from the equipment carried by the Germans (machine guns and hand grenades) some resistance was expected by them. Rumor had it that the building sheltered a rebel radio transmitter and was a rendezvous for Polish officers. The Gestapo were active throughout January, February and March 1941. It concentrated on members of the former National Democratic Party (its Secretary, Medard Kozlowski, was taken at this time); the Strzelec (a former quasi-military and political organization); the Polish Boy Scouts; and the Society for the Defense of the Western Border (Zwiazek Obrony Kresow Zachodnich). Women in auxiliary organizations were not spared. Somehow, the Gestapo gained possession of membership records of these organizations, very likely through their Volksdeutsch henchmen and spies planted before the war broke out.

On January 16, 1941 several thousand Poles, principally of the working class (tramcar conductors, barbers, store clerks and a large number of employees of the Sewage Disposal and Street Cleaning Department of the Municipal Administration) were arrested. This department known as the ZOM (Zaklad Oczyszczania Miasta) had been under the observation of the Germans for some time as it was generally known to harbor a considerable number of Polish officers in disguise. This was made possible because the Warsaw Municipal Administration still had a Polish staff with the Germans exercising only supervisory control, and the ZOM perhaps enjoyed more leeway than any of the other departments of the administration. The anxiety of the Germans is better understood when it is recalled that most of the workers of this department have always been socialists and, in recent years, communists. Much of the conspiratory work as far back as the old czarist regime was done in the endless labyrinths of Warsaw's underground sewage tunnels. I have it on good authority that these tunnels are now being used for the same purpose and while the Germans have repeatedly tried to clean them out, they have not penetrated to certain well concealed sections of the system.

Reports received from people arriving from other parts of the General Government indicate that the Gestapo

was

was also active elsewhere. Many arrests were made during the month of January 1941 in Lublin, Ransom and other smaller towns. Likewise in Krakow numerous arrests among leading Poles were made during the first six months of the year. These included a few high officials of the Polish Red Cross (Czetwertunski, Lasocki), several in the RGO (Chief Protective Council), in the former National Democratic Party, among professors, and finally among old Polish army officers, some of whom were over 60 years of age and had been pensioned for more than twelve years. This clean-up was said to have been directed against "potential" leaders of revolt.

Conditions in Concentration Camps.

Detailed information on this subject was submitted from time to time to the Embassy in Berlin. According to the "underground" the total number of civilian Poles in German prisons and concentration camps on May 1, 1941 was between 160,000 and 200,000. The source estimates deaths from all causes at approximately 100,000. It is believed that these figures should be increased by at least 30 percent.

Few people ever return from concentration camps unless they are in the last stages of tuberculosis or some other equally serious disease and, as a rule, they will not divulge information for fear of being killed by the Gestapo. I have spoken with Polish doctors who treated a few of these unfortunates and they say that from occasional sentences whispered in the last throes of agony, some idea of conditions in these camps may be had. Furthermore, the physical condition of these unfortunates gives evidence that they endured terrible torture. Their bodies are emaciated, some are covered with festering wounds and boils, their bodies still bear scars testifying to beatings, some have dislocated joints and broken teeth. The favorite forms of torture employed in the camps appear to be hunger, beatings (on the small of the back so as to damage the kidneys), unproductive hard labor (digging ditches one day and filling them in the next) or standing waist-deep in water (deepening ponds and canals) where feet are attacked by water parasites causing sores often resulting in blood poisoning; senseless drills (rising and falling exercises and running barefoot over sharp stones and rocks), wearing flimsy clothing in winter - often sprayed with water--and kept standing at attention until the wet clothing freezes. Czechs, Austrians, Serbs and even Germans are said to be kept there also. All attempts to escape are severely punished. If the escaped prisoner is not apprehended within a few hours, his barrack-mates are executed (6 or 7 at a time). Food packages are seldom allowed but small amounts of money may be received from time to time. Numerous deaths occur from diabetes, a disease which appears to be quite common in the camps. The authorities refuse to permit insulin or other medicines to be received by the prisoners.

Following

Following is a list of some of the more prominent persons who have died in the camps and prisons:

Maciej Rataj, (former speaker in the Diet and Peasant Party Leader);

Mieczyslaw Niedzialkowski, (member of the Socialist Party and editor of the "Robotnik");

Professor Kopec, (Doctor of Medicine);

Ignacy Chrzanowski, (Professor of History of Literature);

Michal Siedlecki, (Professor of Zoology);

Stanislaw Estreicher, (Professor of Law and Bibliography);

Leon Sternbach, (Professor of Classical Philology);

Stefan Kolaczkowski, (Professor of Polish Literature);

Wlodek, (Professor of Agronomy);

Kazimierz Kostanecki, (Professor of Anatomy);

Taklinski, (Dean School of Mines in Krakow);

Jerzy Smolenski, (Professor of Geography);

Edward Klich, (Professor of Philology);

Stanislaw Kalandyk (Professor of Physics);

Michal Sobeski, (Professor of Philosophy);

Brun, Henryk, (Economist);

J. John, (Manufacturer);

Wedrychowski, Bohdan, (Lawyer);

Choynowski, (Architect);

Brelawski, Jerzy, (Lawyer);

Jankowski, Czeslaw, (Lawyer);

Kusocinski, Janusz, (Track Runner, Olympic Champion);

Andruszkiewicz, Michal, (Lawyer);

Grabianowski, Jan, (Economist);

Chelminski, Jozet, (Teacher);

Krzeczkowski, Konstanty, (Economist);

Bursche, Edmund, (Pastor);

Zakrzewski, Kazimierz, (Professor of Ancient History);

Stefan Urbanowicz, (Member of the Peasant Party and prominent member of the bar).

The

The following persons have not been heard from since their arrests:

Starzynski, (Mayor of the City of Warsaw);
Jan Pohoski, (Vice Mayor of the City of Warsaw);
Jerzy Pawlowski, (Professor of Geography);
Roman Dyboski, (Economist);
Adam Heydel, (Economist);
Jozef Siemienski (Historian);
Witold Staniszkis (Member of the Sampomoc Spoleczna Relief Organization);
Jan Lazowski, (Economist);
Alexander Dehski, (Lawyer, Former Senator);
Rostanec, Franciszek, (Priest - Doctor of Theology);
Rybarski, Roman, (Economist - Member National Democratic Party);
Medard Kozlowski, (Secretary National Democratic Party);
Czetwertynski, (Red Cross Official);
Lasocki, (Red Cross Official).

The Poles Protest.

It appeared evident that the Gestapo meant quickly to exterminate Polish intellect and might have accomplished their purpose if nothing had been done to prevent it. Poles still at large and able to communicate with one another while working in the few institutions retained by the Germans, (such as the RGO, the Red Cross, the Sampomoc Spoleczna, the Chamber of Commerce and City Hall) and unofficially representing Polish public opinion, appealed to Prince Janusz Radziwill - then in charge of relief work in Krakow and the only Pole having contact and some influence with Governor Franck - to prevail upon the Germans to stop the massacre of innocent people. Radziwill tried his best even to the extent of incurring the personal enmity of the Governor. His conversations and efforts in Krakow produced no result so Radziwill warned the Governor that he would appeal to higher authority. Afterwards he sent a report to Goring (whom he knew personally) a copy of which he forwarded to Franck. Either Franck did not receive the copy or pretended not to, and became furious when he found out about the matter. Radziwill's action is supposed to have prompted the authorities to publish in the official journal of laws (Verordnungsblatt des General Gouvernements) a decree

requiring

requiring court action before a Pole can be executed. Franck, however, took his revenge. For a time he had Radziwill confined to his home under arrest but later released him on orders from higher up. Then Franck had Radziwill removed as chairman of the RGO (Chief Protective Council) nominating in his place Count Adam Ronikier. The effect of the decree was to diminish the outright executions in the General Government and to make greater use of concentration camps.

Confiscation of Property.

The Poles were legally divested of their property and personal belongings by a decree dated September 28, 1940 which provided that the authorities whenever they desire may take all such property. All Polish funds in banks, safety deposit vaults or in shares, stocks or bonds were seized shortly after the fall of Warsaw. Vaults were opened, often by sheer force, and the authorities confiscated money, jewelry, furs and everything of value. The looting of private apartments was conducted officially on a scale impossible to describe. For weeks thousands of covered motor trucks belonging to the Gestapo carried the spoils in a continuous stream into the Reich. Furniture, household equipment, paintings, libraries, works of art, jewelry, costly rugs, clothing and practically everything else of any value was confiscated. Cavalcades of these trucks rumbled through Warsaw day and night.

The wholesale expulsion of Jews and Poles from their homes was carried out during the month of October 1940. At first, only apartments with central heating were desired but later even the squalid ones were taken. Many of these stand vacant possibly waiting for tenants to come from the Reich. Jews were given from three to six hours to move out, leaving everything behind except what bedding and clothing they could carry. Poles were given three days for moving and were allowed to move some of their personal belongings. By making application to the appropriate Gestapo chief it was possible to obtain permission to move everything, including furniture.

CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE

General Condition of the Cultured Class.

The Polish "intelligentsia" undoubtedly is the social class most persecuted today in Poland, no exception being made for profession, or material or social standing. The object appears to be to annihilate this class completely so as to prevent it from inflaming and leading the rest of the nation in revolt.

The falsehoods and cynical utterances made by the Nazi leaders for the purpose of misleading not only foreign powers but the Germans themselves - many of whom

are

are doubtless unaware of the inhuman persecution of the Poles - are regarded with particular disgust in Warsaw. It is indeed difficult to understand and reconcile the editorials in the German-controlled Polish and German press in the General Government continually praising the magnanimity and great concern of the German authorities for the welfare, education and culture of the "backward nation" while actually it seems that these authorities are doing precisely the opposite. Governor General Franck's statement made on or about August 18, 1940 to the effect that "the Polish intelligentsia will be tolerated in the event that it observes explicitly the Fuhrer's orders" represents to the Poles the maximum consideration they can expect from the Nazis.

Barely one-fourth of the intelligent class has found employment. Great numbers of former government employees are former employees of government banks, private banks, large commercial and industrial concerns, and teachers, judges, lawyers, journalists, artists, engineers and technicians are without employment and are in danger of dying of hunger if not at the hands of the Nazis.

Employment is relatively good only in self-governing institutions and municipal enterprises where thus far only Poles are employed. In fact, these institutions have given employment to a fairly large number of persons to fill vacancies caused by the war. Some have found work in manufacturing industries, in small retail trade and in the food and restaurant lines. The number of restaurants and coffee houses has more than doubled since the war, and most of them are serviced by women of the cultured class and the aristocracy. These are special coffee houses operated by theatre artists, musicians, journalists, engineers, lawyers, sportsmen and others. Many of the leading concert singers, artists of the legitimate stage and musical ensembles composed of members of the former philharmonic orchestra entertain in these restaurants. Some people have gone into business, others operate bakeries, groceries, passenger-carrying tricycles ("rikshas"), and still others secretly knit socks and stockings when yarn is available, give French and English lessons (though these are forbidden) and do odd jobs. During the winter of 1939/40 many found work fitting glass into the thousands of windows blown out during the bombing. In the summer months they repaired damaged roofs. The YMCA in Warsaw had special courses of instruction in glazing, shoe-making, carpentry and other trades which were very popular and have helped many to get a new foothold. An eminent explosives chemist was employed for a time in a beet-sugar refinery and is now secretly manufacturing laundry soap whenever he can obtain the necessary fats. Newcomers in a given vocation or trade encounter considerable competition from organized workers and laborers. Skilled masons, carpenters and plumbers are much better at their particular jobs than the architects or engineers who prepared the plans. Moreover, the workmen also must earn a living. The supply of labor, therefore, far exceeds the demand, and earnings

consequently

consequently are reduced to a very low level. The daily wage of a waitress working twelve hours amounts to about two zlotys (\$0.40) plus a plate of soup. The salary of a typist seldom exceeds 150 zlotys (\$30) a month--this in the face of a 500 percent increase in living costs as compared with pre-war days. Those who find employment are fortunate in that they may occupy their minds and not dwell on the misery surrounding them. Furthermore, those who are employed possess labor certificates which sometimes protect them from conscription to forced labor in Germany and from round-ups. I say sometimes, because there have been many instances where the Gestapo simply tore up the certificates and arrested the bearer. A few Poles speaking German have been employed by private German firms. Likewise a few Polish women speaking German found work in such German offices as the library administration and the food administration. However, no hopes are entertained that the Germans will give the Poles employment on any appreciable scale.

Poverty and unemployment are greatest among older people who find difficulty in fitting into the new order of things. Former land-owners, directors of large business houses and persons once holding high office are numerous among those suffering unbelievable poverty. One sees terrible misery and grief among them. Others have reached the stage where nothing matters any more--they are resigned to their fate and indifferent to what goes on about them. A great many of these cases have ended in suicide when the last piece of clothing, furniture or some other treasured article has been sold and there is no further possibility of securing assistance.

The downfall of France, and the adverse results of the Balkan campaign also claimed a high quota of suicides.

There is now operating in Warsaw a relief system based upon private funds for the purpose of helping the most needy intellectuals. The persons distributing the fund are compiling material relating to the past and present economic condition of the country with a view to its use after the war. They assign various topics to people in Warsaw and elsewhere on which they are required to prepare basic reports. Already most of the manufacturing industries in the General Government have been covered in this manner. The remuneration is around 600 zlotys (\$120) for each report.

The younger generation has adjusted itself very quickly to the changed conditions. They have found work as waitresses, cooks, laundresses, maids, bar tenders, store clerks, drivers, glazers, bricklayer apprentices, and laborers on truck farms and in road construction. The young people are active in conspiratory work and are in direct or indirect contact with the "underground". There are in hiding among them many officers who were mobilized during the present war and also many reserve officers. Young girls voluntarily distribute "underground" pamphlets and newspapers and even act as couriers between conspiratory points in various parts of the country. Many of them have been caught and have never been heard from.

General

General Condition of the Working Class.

Physical workers in cities found themselves in a better condition to eke out a living after the occupation of Poland than mental workers. Better adapted to living in difficult conditions which prevailed in Warsaw after the occupation, physical workers moreover found a much larger field for employment than the intelligentsia. Despite this the working class on the whole is bordering on extreme poverty. If we take the manufacturing industry for example we find that approximately three-fourths of the private factories in the General Government are operating but they employ only about one-third as many workers as before the war. On the other hand, some of the former State-owned plants, now operating as German armament factories, employ practically the same full quota of workers as before the outbreak of war, the majority of them being Poles. Several thousand specialists such as lathe-operators, machinists, tool-makers, and so forth, have been taken into the Reich and are now working in armament plants there.

In Warsaw many manual laborers found work removing debris, demolishing buildings, and regulating the river banks on the Vistula river. They are also employed by the German administration in connection with repair and construction of highways, bridges, air fields and defense works. Several thousand excavated underground hangars on the new military airfield at Bielany outside Warsaw.

Finally, a large part of the population took to trading in foodstuffs. The elimination of the Jews from trade opened opportunities for many gentiles in the cities and towns. Smuggling and selling farm produce to the starving population in Warsaw at exorbitant prices became a lucrative business for many. Their earnings were fantastic and there is now in Warsaw a new class of "nouveaux riches"--the food smuggler and speculator.

On the whole, however, unemployment among the working class is very heavy. No accurate estimates are available but the total must be large as a large number of plants are considered as the Germans as non essential were closed. The complete absence of building and construction work also has released many thousands of masons, carpenters, plumbers and others.

Despite the relatively better material condition of the working classes and attempts of the Germans to humor them (special factory allowances), the wanton persecution of the urban population by the Gestapo as well as the suffering of Polish workmen in the Reich have created intense hatred of the Germans among them.

General Condition of the Peasant Class.

During the first five months after the fall of Poland, the peasants were far better off than any other class in

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the country. The earnings of peasants around Warsaw were very high because the starved city paid the prices they demanded for food. During this period the peasants were very well satisfied and were inclined to look with favor on the Germans, particularly since the Germans treated them with much greater tolerance than they treated the population in the cities and towns. In the spring of 1940 the Germans invited the peasants to volunteer for work on farms in the Reich, offering them at least 100 zlotys a month. The results were negligible, so the Germans took them by force at night with the assistance of Volksdeutsch village headmen and Polish policemen. They were packed into freight cars, beaten and treated like animals. Fear drove many of the younger peasants to seek refuge in the forests. Anybody resembling an eligible peasant was in danger of being arrested if encountered on the road and even in trains. Exceptionally low prices were fixed on all agricultural products of which enormous quantities were bought by the German food administration and sent to the Reich. Even the smallest quantities found en route to Warsaw were confiscated. Later, the peasants and large estates were ordered to deliver to the Germans certain quantities of produce per unit of area planted. These "contingents" had to be delivered at certain predetermined intervals to the German food administration either through the village headmen (mostly Volksdeutsch or Reichsdeutsch) or through district farm cooperatives. A village is collectively responsible for the full quota of each inhabitant. Every hog, cow, horse and chicken must be registered. Each chicken, moreover, has an egg "contingent" which it must yield to the Germans. I personally know people who must purchase eggs on the "black market" to make up for the egg-laying deficiency of their chickens. The contingents are so computed as to leave the small farm with only enough grain and other products to enable him to exist. The Polish peasant, however, has learned much and always manages to hide some potatoes and rye. Occasionally he even contrives to slaughter a pig which he sells to the smugglers. The milk output of the small farms is also closely controlled by the Germans but here also the peasant contrives to get large amounts which are immediately churned into butter or sold to the city - usually heavily charged with water.

When purchasing nails, horseshoes or farm utensils the peasant must present German certificates proving that he has delivered the required contingent of food-stuffs to the administration. There is no way for the farmer to circumvent this regulation as even the city population is sold nails and other metal equipment on special permits which can be secured after considerable effort from their respective civil administrations.

The peasant's condition became still worse when the Germans unloaded close to two and one-half million Polish refugees from areas incorporated into the Reich. (Each refugee was allowed to take only 20 zlotys (\$4.00) and a small handbag of personal belongings with him.) The feeding of these people rested in large measure upon the

peasant

peasant and was a very heavy burden. Many of these people are still on the hands of the peasants since it was impossible immediately to place them with relatives, or friends or to find other means of support for them.

In February 1941, the German eased the pressure on the peasant probably in anticipation of war in the east. Conscriptons were withheld and greater leniency was exercised in the food contingents and levies. Around Warsaw, the farmers were again permitted to bring produce to the city during the "open" periods. Then the German troops came and took away from the peasant almost everything edible. At first, they paid the low prices established by regulations, but as the food supply dwindled they paid any price the peasant asked. This was tolerated by the authorities. The average farmer soon had more money than he needed but it was useless when he desired to purchase clothing or footwear as all of these items had been confiscated and subjected to the rationing system. With the outbreak of the Russo-German war, most of the troops were soon moved eastward and conditions in the rural districts gradually took a turn for the better. The peasants, however, refused to sell food to the city except in exchange for such commodities as used clothing, sole leather, cigarettes and vodka. Cigarettes were in great demand and 100 of the worst kind could buy enough food to last one person for several days. This was the state of affairs when I left Warsaw.

Case Histories.

Following are the case histories of certain persons known personally to me indicating the changes which have taken place in their personal status as a result of the downfall of Poland:

<u>Before</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>After</u>
Student		Bank clerk.
Director of large commercial concern		Unemployed; deals in postage stamps.
High official of the Ministry of Cults and Education		Unemployed; public charge.
Manager of a steamship company		Translator.
Director of a chamber of commerce		Unemployed.
Student		Manufactures substitute foodstuffs.
Chemist		Manufactures laundry soaps.
Two managers of steamship agencies		Unemployed.
Manager of commercial firm		Employed by German commercial firm.
Government employee		Unemployed; public charge.

Doctor

Before

Doctor of medicine (Jew)
Clerk in an embassy

Professor of mathematics
Student of law
Two executives of chamber
of commerce
Ten executives in City Hall
Factory hand and two em-
ployees of a department
store
Insurance agent
Journalist

Manufacturer of skis and
propellers

Student

Dealer in automotive parts
Mechanical engineer
Owner of large estate near
Poznan (60 years old)
Lawyer (Jew)
Wagons Lits employee
Professor of mathematics
Clerk in government bank

Six artists of the legiti-
mate stage
Ten members of the Warsaw
Philharmonic orchestra
Eight students
Leading tennis player

After

Unemployed; in ghetto.
Timekeeper in a firm
operating barges
on river.

Shoe maker.
Glazier and smuggler.
Occupy same positions.

Occupy same positions.
Employed by a German
road-building con-
cern.

Smuggler.
Unemployed; relies on
charity.

Manufactures metal con-
tainers for German
army.

Bookkeeper in small in-
dustrial plant.
Sells window glass.
Machinist.
Exiled to General Govern-
ment; public charge.
In ghetto; public charge.
Does roof repairing work.
Sells firewood.
Accountant in wire and
nail factory.
Run a cafeteria.

Play in restaurant or-
chestras.
Operate "rikshas".
Waiter.

Women

Secretary

Music teacher

Librarian

Clerk in government bank
Railway clerk

Supports self and aged
mother by giving
French lessons.

Supports self and hus-
band (an architect
who is unemployed)
by giving 8 to 10
music lessons per
day.

Works in German book
store but depends
largely upon as-
sistance from rela-
tives.

Smuggler.
Moved out of city into
country; operates
small vegetable
farm.

Wife

<u>Before</u>	<u>After</u>
Wife of high Polish Army officer who is in England	Supports self and child by selling soap and toilet articles.
Wife of high official of the Warsaw chamber of commerce.	Receives subsidy from chamber (about 300 zlotys a month).
Clerk in private bank	Waitress in restaurant.
Clerk in consulate	Works in vegetable canning plant.
Clerk in consulate	Runs grocery store.
Clerk in consulate	Sells food smuggled in by son.
Leading tennis player	Waitress.
Clerk in commercial firm	Sells shoe polish and other miscellaneous articles on commission basis.
Clerk in consulate	Knits socks and stockings.
Bank clerk	Works in German food administration.
Clerk in chamber of commerce	Has same position.
Eight government clerks, Fifteen Actresses, Ten wives of Polish officers, Nine wives of former wealthy business men and manufacturers.	Waitresses, cooks, bartenders and other jobs connected with the restaurant trade.

MINORITIES.

The Jewish Problem.

From the moment Poland was occupied, the Jews were persecuted and much more severely than the Poles. The military authorities seemed to make a special point of treating them brutally, always emphasizing the difference between Jews and Poles. With the creation of the General Government and the taking over of the administration by German civilians and the police functions by the Gestapo, the situation of the Jews remained relatively stable for some time. The treatment of the Jews, however, continued to be much worse than that of the Poles, and a series of regulations were made public introducing restrictions for Jews along the lines of the Nürnberg Laws. Expulsion of Jews from apartments, requisitioning of their factories and businesses, the prohibition against dealing in drugs and medicines, the requirement to register all Jewish property, the prohibition of Jews using the trains (explained officially as a sanitary ruling against the spreading of diseases), the taking of Jews off the streets for work in the city and vicinity (cleaning the streets of snow, dismantling bombed buildings, carrying and transporting confiscated

furniture

furniture and supplies and so forth) and finally, the requirement to wear a white arm band with the blue star of Zion on their sleeves - all served to place the Jews in a position beneath the Poles. The quarter of the city where Jews were most numerous was proscribed by the Germans as a zone contaminated with typhoid fever and other diseases. According to an order published October 9, 1940, no Jew was permitted to leave the "contaminated zone" between the hours 7 p.m. to 8 a.m. Likewise, no Jew residing outside this zone could leave his house during the same curfew hours. Penalties were provided up to 1000 zlotys (\$200.00) or imprisonment for three months or less in the event the fine could not be collected. An order made public on October 14, 1940 signed by District Chief Dr. Fischer forecast the creation of a ghetto in Warsaw during the following month. All Jews in Warsaw were ordered to move into the "zone" while all Poles living there were required to move out, but not into the German quarter. (See attached map) The order further instructed Jews moving into the ghetto to take with them only as much bedding as they could carry; everything else to be left untouched. Jews were not permitted in parks, certain stores, cafes, restaurants, theatres and on streets in the German quarter as well as on Adolf Hitler Platz (formerly Marshal Pilsudski Square). They could travel in the city only in special trolley cars marked with the blue star. Along with these restrictions, soldiers, Gestapo and the police treated the Jews in an extremely brutal manner. They beat them on the streets and in their homes for no apparent reason. I saw many beatings when Jews were late in getting off the sidewalk to make room for a German in uniform as required by an order of District Chief Dr. Fischer. Out in the country districts the soldiers made Jews bare their heads when passing Germans, but this custom was not in general use in Warsaw. Soldiers coming into the city from other parts of Poland would nevertheless require Jews to remove their hats and, of course, they beat many for failing to do so. In many respects Jew beating resembles "hazing" in American schools only, of course, it is much more serious. I once saw three Gestapo officers stop an old Jew on the street. With revolvers drawn they made him sing, dance and do various exercises; meanwhile the old man was almost paralyzed with fear. After a minute of this entertainment they told him he could go. When he was about five yards away they fired into the air. The old man dropped but soon got up and staggered away. The officers considered it great fun. The sight of Jews lifting and lowering large pieces of pavement or rocks for hours was a common sight in Warsaw. Persecution was no less severe in other parts of the General Government. It is estimated that about 10,000 of them were forced to leave the city of Krakow on August 14, 1940 and more were forced out later. They were not permitted to settle in any of the towns or villages in the vicinity of the city. About 40,000 came to Warsaw swelling the already overcrowded Jewish quarter.

The ghetto, surrounded by walls almost seven feet high, was finally closed on the evening of November 25,

1940.

1940. After that date no Jews were allowed to leave the enclosure except with a permit issued by the Gestapo. Later on, a few of these permits were issued at a charge of 20 zlotys each. The few exits are always guarded by a Gestapo man, a Polish policeman and a Jewish guard. The Jewish guards wear military caps, Sam Browne belts and special arm-bands. They salute the Germans in military fashion and in general lord it over the other Jews who detest them. They seem to get along very well with the Gestapo guards. It is reported that these Jewish guards often cooperate with the German guards to let people in and out of the enclosure without permits. The bribes are divided among the three guards.

The Germans send in new transports of Jews from the country districts when the population in the ghetto drops below 500,000 as a result of deaths which average 200 to 300 daily. Typhoid fever, dysentery and other diseases are the principal causes of death there.

Subsequent regulations provided that all business enterprises in which 25 percent or more of the capital is Jewish or in which at least a member of the management is a Jew are to be regarded as Jewish enterprises. All these firms were confiscated and turned over to German commissioners. Sometimes, Poles were also assigned as commissioners. More often the Jewish establishment would be completely rented out to Volksdeutsch or Poles.

Despite the outwardly harsh treatment of the Jews, their situation is much better than that of the Poles. Jews were seldom subjected to reprisal arrests and executions, and none were ever taken by force to work in the Reich. The matter of using Jews for local work was soon arranged with the Gestapo to the mutual satisfaction of both the Germans and Jews. Jewish communities in cities and towns made agreements with the Gestapo to supply any number of workmen needed. The communities pay these workers three zlotys a day. Jews who do not want to work are fined ten zlotys a day by their communities. During the past four months the Germans have decreased their requisitions for Jewish labor, restricting their requirements to Jewish artisans, masons, carpenters and so forth. Shortly before leaving Warsaw I noticed exceptionally few Jews working even in these capacities. It is reported in Warsaw that the Jews are bribing the Gestapo whenever and wherever possible. Many Poles seem to think the Germans would be willing to open the ghetto if the Jews would pay the price.

The registration of Jewish property which was required by the Germans also favors the Jews in that the Jewish communities which conducted the registration possess accurate information regarding Jewish losses in property, merchandise, furniture, and personal belongings and cash, which data may prove very helpful in registering claims when the war is over. No such registration was made for Polish losses. Attempts are

being

being made in secret by Poles to prepare such a register but the results are said to be negligible owing to the apathy of the Poles.

For a time there was much said in Warsaw about the creation of a large concentration camp for Jews in the vicinity of Lublin and the Germans even invited able-bodied Poles to volunteer in a special prison corps to guard these camps. The enlistments were negligible and in time the project was abandoned.

The General Government has become a central dumping ground for Jews from the various countries conquered by Hitler. I do not know the number transferred but it must approximate at least two million. Apparently, the purpose of this is two-fold: (1) to rid the Reich and subjugated countries of the Jewish element, and (2) to plant in Poland a Jewish minority of such enormous proportions as to make the settlement of the Jewish problem in a future Poland almost impossible. Ultimately, if things in Russia turn out satisfactorily, the Jews will be pushed eastward, to be followed later by the Poles, and the whole General Government will become a purely German province. It seems that the Germans are already inciting Poles and Jews against each other. A month or so before my departure, relations between Jews and Poles in Warsaw were very good. There was a genuine sympathy among the Poles for the suffering Jews. The common suffering of Jew and Gentile alike during the siege of Warsaw brought them closer together than ever before. Suddenly, the Jews changed, and there were frequent incidents; Poles approaching too close to ghetto walls or riding in tramcars passing through the ghetto to a suburb beyond were stoned. I tried in vain to find out the cause of this sudden hatred. The Poles suspect the Germans because they remember how they tried the same trick before only in reverse order. When the Jews were still at large in the city, rumors would spread about the killing of Poles by Jews. Almost immediately gangs of rowdies would attack Jewish labor detachments. The same gangs were also used to demolish Jewish stores on some of the main streets in Warsaw. Gestapo officers were invariably on hand to photograph these scenes. They were later published in Germany and elsewhere as evidences of "pogroms" in Poland.

The Jewish problem is considered in Poland to be a very important one. The Poles acknowledge that Hitler unwittingly has done them a great service by eliminating the Jews and many of them aspire to make this a permanent feature in the restored Poland of the future.

German-Ukrainian Relations in Poland.

The Ukrainian element in Poland constitutes a privileged class on an equal basis with the "Volksdeutsch". They are permitted to possess radios and can obtain food from German stores on cards identical with those of Reichs and Volksdeutsch. They are employed in German

offices

offices in Krakow, Warsaw and in the provincial districts. A large number are Treuhanders for industrial and commercial firms confiscated from the Jews. The Ukrainian press in Poland is loud in its praise of Hitler and the Nazis. Ukrainians are permitted to maintain their own societies and organizations in the General Government. In Warsaw, their numbers are increasing rapidly. It is reported that a large number of them have been placed in the Polish police force, and on the railways and trolley systems. It is well known that most of the jails in the southern part of the General Government are staffed by Ukrainians. They treat the Poles even more harshly than do the Germans. They are given instruction in special police schools opened by the Germans in various parts of the country. According to information received in Warsaw, Ukrainian detachments are being drilled and armed by the German military authorities and probably are now being used in the campaign against Soviet Russia.

Their hopes for an independent Ukraine received a set back when the Germans incorporated Lemberg and other allegedly Ukrainian territories into the General Government. German military authorities, it is claimed, found much of the information supplied by the Ukrainian intelligence service in Russia to be inaccurate, notably with regard to the strength, morale and location of Soviet troops along the border. The Ukrainians overdid themselves in their anxiety to precipitate hostilities. Aside from this, the new state would require the setting up of another administration similar to that in the General Government which was not desirable in view of the shortage of trained officials and personnel.

Other Minorities.

Russians.

Russian émigrés are treated with consideration although they are not trusted. They have their own national committee which maintains liaison with the German authorities and distributes food and clothing when these are allotted by the Germans. With regard to rations, Russians are kept one notch below the Ukrainians as they do not receive full value food cards. They are allowed to have radios, clubs, and theatres and to publish their own newspapers. These newspapers, as a rule, are subservient to the Germans and frequently attack the Poles. This attitude creates bitter feeling between the two which is probably what the Germans desire. Prior to the outbreak of the war with Russia the Gestapo weeded out many persons in the Russian colony whom they considered to be untrustworthy. All outgoing and incoming mail of Russian émigrés is carefully censored by the Gestapo. Many were called to Gestapo headquarters where they were examined and questioned about some of the statements contained in their letters.

Quite a number of Russians are employed in German Government offices in Warsaw. They mingle socially and

I know of at least one Russian girl who married a Gestapo officer. The head of the Russian Orthodox Church in Poland has been officially recognized by Governor Franck. The Russian clergy advocates a definitely pro-German policy.

In gambling houses which the German authorities opened in Krakow and Warsaw for the use of Poles only, most of the croupiers are Russians who had received special instruction in a croupier school in Krakow for several months. In March 1941 about 150 Russians having a knowledge of the German language were taken to a special training camp in East Prussia. According to rumors in Warsaw these men were being prepared for important posts in the Gestapo in Russia.

Americans, other Neutrals and Italians.

These nationalities comprise a small group which is supposed to be on a par with the Germans with regard to food rations. Identical cards are issued to them but I know from experience that the Americans received much less food than the Germans. I have often been told: "Americans can wait until the Germans have eaten their fill". The treatment of Americans in Warsaw varied in accordance with the anti-German news coming from the States. Official enunciations or confirmations of American foreign policy with respect to the Germans always had immediate repercussions and one simply had to wait for the storm to blow over before approaching a German official. No Americans are allowed to leave the General Government.

French Nationals.

The French were interned by the Gestapo during the latter part of 1940 and taken to a camp close to the Swiss border. After the lapse of a few months the Germans offered them the option either of returning to Poland or going to France. The majority chose to come to Poland. Their situation is very bad because neither the Poles nor the Germans will help them. The Poles, in fact, call them traitors and will have nothing to do with a returned Frenchman. They eke out a precarious existence by giving lessons, sewing and so forth. A certain well known Frenchman in this group has begun to organize a French "Falangist" party in Warsaw; this also has caused much adverse comment among the Poles. Several hundred French were recently brought into the General Government to work on railway lines, military construction work and so forth to the east of Warsaw. A reliable source informed me that practically all of these men were De Gaullists.

The Georgians.

The Georgian colony in Poland is quite numerous. Most of them came to Poland as exiles when the Bolsheviks

overran

overran their country. A large number of them served in the Polish Army, and some of the officers were in the General Staff. With the collapse of Poland many of these officers remained in the country declaring themselves Georgian nationals. Before long they were on excellent terms with the Germans. Each minority in Warsaw having political aspirations maintains a club and the Georgians soon opened theirs next door to the British Embassy building. Every night Georgians and German officers of high rank would gather and carouse until daybreak. When addressing the Georgians, German officers always used the title of the rank they held in the Polish army.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

Fuel.

The situation in Warsaw as regards fuel, food and clothing has been desperate since September 1939 and is becoming more so each day.

Fuel is the most pressing need. During the past winter (1940/41) the last pieces of coal and coke (which then cost as much as \$300 per metric ton) were consumed and the Germans refused to allow any more to be sent in for the Poles. I have been informed by a reliable person who recently made a trip to Kattowice that the railway sidings at the Upper Silesian coal mines are swamped with coal but little can be moved eastward owing to war congestion on the railways and lack of rolling stock. He said he noticed several internal combustion fires.

The coal which eventually reaches Warsaw is allotted by a German coal commissioner to German offices and private German apartments. In fact, the Germans in Warsaw were laying in supplies of coke throughout the summer. Negligible amounts left over were sometimes distributed among foreigners. Theoretically, the Poles also are entitled to a few pounds a month but actually they do not receive it. In August 1941 the German coal commissioner told me he could give no assurance of securing fuel for any but the Germans during the coming winter, adding: "I am not interested in heating the homes of these swine - the Poles; let them die". Firewood has helped somewhat to relieve the situation and probably will be the only fuel available in Warsaw this winter. In August it already commanded a price equal to \$140.00 per metric ton (wet logs) and probably the price has doubled since then. Attempts have been made to devise stoves for burning sawdust and bricquettes pressed from wet newspaper but the results were not satisfactory. Wooden fences and smaller trees on the outskirts of Warsaw were removed last winter for firewood. Many of the larger trees in the parks have been stripped of bark for the same purpose. The coming winter, then, promises to be a tragic one and the death rate will certainly exceed that of last year and, worse

still,

still, the morale of the people will probably be broken. In speaking with these people I gained the impression that they could perhaps live somehow with even the minimum of food they are now getting but would not be able to survive the terrible cold. Temperatures of 25 and 30 degrees below zero Centigrade were not uncommon while the average was around 15 to 20 degrees below. It is believed that the use of electric current and gas for heating will be out of the question this winter owing to the high penalties imposed on each kilowatt hour in excess of that consumed during the month of January 1941. These penalties begin at 3,00 zlotys per kilowatt-hour and are progressive. The price of current has been increased thirty percent since September 1939. Voltages in Warsaw are dropped from 220 V. to 120 V. from 11 p.m. to 5 a.m. The gas pressure in Warsaw is insufficient for cooking or bathing purposes from 6 a.m. to 9 p.m. The price of gas has also gone up 30 percent.

In the country districts, the lack of fuel presents no problem because the peasant had relatively little use for coal even in normal times. Moreover, he still has access to sources of timber, straw and peat. Furthermore, the peasant is better fed and has a more rugged constitution than the city dweller.

Food.

The people of Warsaw and other Polish cities are undoubtedly facing starvation, not because of a food shortage in the General Government, but because the bread and meat they get (the only items available to them on cards) is rationed in such pitifully small quantities. The bread is a mixture of the lowest grade rye flour, bran, ground potato skins and sawdust; only one kilogram of this baked mixture is doled out to each Pole weekly--far too little when it is considered that the average person there has little else to eat and must rely increasingly on bread. Only 200 grams of odorous meat, frequently mostly bone, is sold monthly to each person. Sugar, flour, potatoes and other food products theoretically available under the rationing system, are practically non-existent, although tiny amounts of some of these products occasionally appear. I am satisfied that the present output of Polish farms and estates, although badly crippled by military operations, lack of help and the stripping of most of their supplies, is already sufficient to stave off starvation. As it is, vigilant Treuhanders and the German Agricultural Administration see to it that the bulk of the output finds its way to German stomachs or to the central food administration in the Reich where it is either sold to other needy territories of the Reich or stored for future use. Hitler has found a strong ally in hunger. Hungry people become apathetic and are less likely to foment trouble. From my observations in Poland it may be inferred that the food situation in any German-subjugated country is a barometer to anti-German sentiment prevailing there. Periods of

extreme

extreme persecution in Warsaw invariably were accompanied by artificial food shortages. Warsaw is surrounded by a cordon of Gestapo, Feldpolizei and Polish police whose duty it is to allow no food to be brought into the city. The control exercised by this force is tightened or relaxed in accordance with orders received from above. Officially these measures are said to be necessary to stamp out smuggling, profiteering, high prices and hoarding. I have frequently stood at the city gates watching the cordon at work. Every person and every vehicle are stopped and searched and any produce found is confiscated or destroyed. More than once I have seen the Gestapo punch holes in milk cans, so they cannot be used again, or smashing a few dozen eggs found in some poor woman's basket. "The Poles have gorged themselves for twenty years - now they must live on bread and water", they said. During periods of "relaxed" control it is possible for smugglers to get through either by bribes or by running the blockade at night. The number of people who have lost their lives in this way probably will never be known. Tightening of the blockade is usually accompanied by a prohibition against Poles using the railways. Volksdeutsch, Ukrainians and, of course, Germans are exempted from this prohibition. Rural sections near Warsaw have always been poor, and they are still poorer. Consequently, smugglers must travel farther toward the south and east to obtain food which necessitates the use of trains. During 1941 these travel restrictions were in force for weeks at a time - especially in January, March and in May, just before the outbreak of the Russo-German war. During these periods Warsaw had absolutely no dairy products, meat, potatoes or vegetables. Potatoes are perhaps as important to the Poles as bread is, but none could be purchased in Warsaw regardless of the amount of money offered. People dropped on the streets from weakness and many died of starvation. Charity was unable to cope with the situation which bordered on famine. Soup kitchens operated by the relief organizations were obliged to turn away thousands, notably after the Germans requisitioned large quantities of fats and other foods from their warehouses. The cordon carried its activities even into the city itself. On January 12, 1941 at 10 p.m. on Plac Trzech Krzyzy (Dreikreutzplatz) I saw several Gestapo men arrest an old, poorly dressed woman in a street car. She carried a small basket of potatoes which they claimed she had smuggled. The car operated well within the city limits and it is doubtful that she had smuggled the basket. Such cases as this were very frequent.

The people of Warsaw planted every vacant plot of ground in and around the city with potatoes and vegetables. Most of the potatoes were dug up almost immediately by thieves, while the extremely cold spring of 1941 (snow, hail and freezing weather as late as May 16th) retarded vegetation to such an extent that the first radishes were not available until summer. This also aggravated matters. Another scourge were the ever-increasing numbers of German troops being

moved

moved into the General Government as early as the middle of March. Quartered in villages, estates, towns and cities they literally ate the country bare. The army kitchens were unable to supply the full quota of food to the soldiers so 10 zlotys (\$2.00) per day were issued to them with which to purchase their own meals. Officers received 50 zlotys (\$10.00) daily for the same purpose. Soon, Warsaw was divested of almost everything edible. What small supplies a person possessed had to be kept well hidden from the troops who stopped at nothing to obtain food. With the outbreak of hostilities in the east the troops gradually moved out and the food situation though still critical, became somewhat easier. On the day following the outbreak, each Pole in Warsaw received 100 grams of butter, the first ever issued. This and the tenor of Governor General Franck's proclamation to the Poles indicated that the Poles could expect improved treatment if they behaved. The butter issue has never been repeated. The cordon relaxed its grip somewhat, July and August brought fresh vegetables, above all - potatoes. Poles were again permitted on the trains though they were never sure when some free lance Gestapo would confiscate all the products they carried. Gestapo, soldiers and Party Germans in uniform frequently would go through trains at small stations and, under the pretext of examining them, would throw onto the station platform all luggage and packages found in the third class (Poles were not permitted in first and second classes). In the meantime the train moved out of the station and everybody preferred to remain on board rather than dispute with the Germans. Such occurrences were responsible to a large extent for the high cost of farm produce even during the "open season".

Shortly before leaving Warsaw, another difficulty presented itself in the food situation. The peasants were overstocked with paper money. At first they refused to accept the 500 and 100 zloty notes because of a rumor that these denominations were to be withdrawn from circulation, later they accepted only the old silver 2 zloty pieces and the nickel and iron coin issues. Though unlawful, American currency was always accepted provided the peasant was sure of his contact. Finally, in "black transactions" the peasant preferred to barter for alcohol, cigarettes, sugar, salt, old clothing and shoe leather. The demand for cigarettes and tobacco was very heavy. In Warsaw a person received only 3 "Mewa" cigarettes of very low quality per day by standing in line for hours.

In Polish opinion the improvement is only temporary because much depends upon the outcome of the campaign in the east and its effect on Germany. Some small insignificant incident, moreover, might be interpreted by the Germans as a revolt and the restrictions might thus be renewed. In the long run, the Poles fear that if the war is drawn out, Germany will feel the pinch and will make food retrenchments and that will result in ruthless stripping of all food resources from the conquered countries for routing to the Reich. If forced to starve,

Germany

Germany will first starve out the Poles, Czechs and the others.

Packages from Portugal.

The most effective form of relief in Poland at the present time are the small food packages sent in from Portugal. These weigh about one pound each and contain coffee, tea, cocoa, pepper or soap. The Germans permit them to enter as gifts (Liebesgabe); the duty amounts to 8 zlotys for tea and coffee and about 4 zlotys for soap (per one pound package). One package of coffee or tea is enough to pay the rent for a month while three or four should be sufficient to support a person in Warsaw for a month. I do not know how many of these packages have entered the General Government but the number must be very large. Portuguese coffee and tea is becoming quite commonplace in Warsaw coffee houses and restaurants. A certain percentage of these packages is probably confiscated by the Germans and undoubtedly certain amounts on the market (after being sold by the Poles) find their way into German hands. Since coffee and tea are not nourishing foods, the damage done to the British blockade should not be great. Several firms in Lisbon handle this business, the two best known to the writer are:

Casa Macau, Limitada, Lisbon.

A Carioca, Limitada, rua da Misericordia, 9, Lisbon.

A one pound package of coffee, including packing and shipping from Lisbon to Poland costs only 18 escudos, or less than \$1.00.

Clothing.

Lack of clothing is also a problem which is becoming increasingly serious as the present supply probably will not last more than a few months. There is already a severe shortage of warm winter underwear and outer clothing as well as shoes. Shoe leather costs about 700 zlotys (\$140.00) a kilogram and cannot be obtained on the open market as all supplies have been confiscated. Practically no clothing is to be had except underwear which is available through the card system. Cards are issued but the stores seldom have the required articles for sale. Shoes were available on cards for a few weeks in July 1941 at a cost of 50 zlotys (\$10.00); the quality of the uppers was very bad and the soles were usually made of cardboard reinforced with linoleum. Shoes available through secret channels are beyond the purchasing power of the average Pole. Wooden soles and heels are now becoming "popular". Wooden-soled sandals were very much worn by the ladies during the summer. Woolen socks and stockings are non-existent.

There are given below comparative tables showing prices of food, clothing and other items as computed with earnings in Warsaw. On the whole, earnings of the white

collar

collar class have been decreased - no office worker can receive more than 300 zlotys a month regardless of his status or former salary - while those in the trades and working classes are much better. In view of the devaluated currency and the high cost of living, earnings are barely enough to keep alive.

Comparative Table

<u>Earnings:</u>	August 1939. *(zlotys)	August 1941. *(zlotys)
Office workers: Men	400 - 1000	200 - 300
Women	200 - 600	100 - 150
Musicians in restaurants	300 - 900	150 - 200
Waitresses	200 - 300	50 - 60 (and food)
Domestic Servants	50 -	150 -
Skilled Workers:		
Electricians	300 - 500	600 - 700
Automobile mechanics	400 - 600	700 - 1000
Masons	300 - 400	800 - 900
Carpenters	300 - 400	800 - 900
Unskilled laborers	75 - 100	150 - 275

* \$1.00 = 5.00 zlotys.

Expenses:

Rent: 1 Room and kitchen	125.00	150.00
3 Rooms, kitchen, bath	380.00	380.00
Electric current (for 3 room apartment)	8.00	40.00
Gas (for 3 room apartment)	21.00	46.00

Food Prices:

	<u>For cards</u>	<u>"Black Market"</u>
Bread (1 kilogram)	0.50	20.00
Eggs (1 egg)	not available	3.00
Meat: beef (1 kg.)	2.00	20.00
pork (1 kg.)	2.00	34.00
veal	2.00	32.00
Pepper (1 kg.)	not available	300.00
Butter (1 kg.)	not available	60.00
Potatoes (1 kg.)	not available	4.00 to 8.00
Tomatoes (1 kg.)	not available	6.00
Apples (1 kg.)	not available	20.00
Sugar (1 kg.)	not available	35.00
Flour (1 kg.)	not available	30.00
Coffee (1 kg.)	not available	240.00
Tea (1 kg.)	not available	400.00
Ham (1 kg.)	not available	60.00
Salt pork (1 kg.)	not available	50.00
Cocoa (1 kg.)	not available	180.00

Clothing

<u>Clothing and Footwear:</u>	<u>For cards</u>	<u>"Black Market"</u>
Ladies' Oxfords	not available	40.00
Oxfords (men's)	50.00	800.00
Woolen cloth for men's suits (1 meter)	not available	600.00 to 1000.00
Cost of tailoring	---	200.00
Man's hat	not available	100.00
Shirts, men's,	not available	100.00 to 150.00
Ladies' woolen materials (1 meter)	not available	400.00 to 700.00
Stockings, childrens'	not available	700.00
Shoes, childrens'	not available	150.00
Ladies' hose, artif. silk	not available	150.00
Fibre valise (formerly: 20.00 zl.)		400.00
Trolley ticket (formerly 0.20 zl.)		0.25
Taxi run (formerly 1.20 zl.)		20.00
Haircut (formerly 3.00 zl.)		6.00
Movie ticket (formerly 4.00 zl.)		8.50
Average meal in restaurant (formerly 3.00 zl.)		30.00
Vodka, 1 liter (formerly 6.00 zl.)		100.00
Cigarettes, ea. (formerly 0.10 zl.)		1.20

Relief Activities.

Resources of private persons and relief organizations are rapidly being depleted and are already closely restricted. The Warsaw Committee of the Mutual Aid Society (Stoleczny Komitet Sampomocy Spolecznej) issues approximately 60,000 meals daily to 140,000 persons. Of this total, 40,300 meals are gratis, 8,500 are served for 0.10 zloty each and 9,800 are sold for zl. 0.20 each. Other institutions, such as the YMCA, the Committee of Expatriated Persons, Municipal Health Centers, the Polish Red Cross, the Railroad Employees Association and the Russian National Committee together account for perhaps another 10,000. The extent of assistance rendered by private persons is impossible to estimate. It is known, however, that practically every Polish family maintaining a household voluntarily gives at least one meal each day to a needy person. The Chief Protective Council (Rada Glowna Opiekuncza) is the ranking Polish relief institution. It is reported as having done excellent work in placing before the German authorities in Krakow information as to the actual plight of the Polish people, and whatever cooperation has come from German quarters is undoubtedly the result of the efforts of this organization.

American Relief.

The effect of American relief in Poland thus far has been almost negligible. This relief was publicized in the "nowy Kurier Warszawski" a German-operated daily paper published in Warsaw, but few people have obtained assistance directly traceable to the American source. The arrival of a shipment of cod liver oil was heralded with a great display of pomp and ceremony during which the

American

American representative was photographed together with German officials. Subsequent visits of American relief representatives from Berlin were also given publicity in the German press and photographs were included. This German-American cooperation was confusing to the Poles but the climax came with the publication in German and Polish papers of a letter of thanks written to Governor General Franco by a certain representative of the American relief office in Berlin. This had a very depressing effect on the Poles and did much to discredit American relief activities from Berlin. The people in Warsaw fully realize the difficulties connected with the sending of aid from the United States and the danger that these supplies will fall into German hands. They object, however, to anybody giving the Germans credit for something they do not deserve. The Germans repeatedly tell the Poles it is the British who will not allow American relief through the blockade. The Poles regard this as just one more German lie. It would be a blow to them to learn that there was any truth in this German claim.

Medical Supplies.

A few weeks before the war with Russia broke out the German medical corps requisitioned most surgical and many medical supplies leaving only a very small supply for the population. Morphine, opium and other alkaloids, ether, bandages, gauze, absorbant cotton, iodine, vaseline, glycerine, desinfectants and sterilizing agents, certain surgical instruments, medicinal soaps, aspirin and many other, if available at all, are to be had only in very small amounts on prescriptions. The problem of sending medical aid to Poland is complicated by the probability of confiscation by the Germans to a degree perhaps greater than food because enormous quantities are needed in the war and it is reported that the supply of many such products in Germany is exhausted. These products include coal derivative desinfectants the production of which has given way to the manufacture of other products more necessary to the war machine. Likewise the output of gauze is greatly restricted while absorbant cotton has been superseded almost entirely by cellulose cotton. There is also a shortage of adhesive plaster.

With the exception of the Red Cross Hospital all others have been taken by the army. Certain special clinics and maternity wards are under joint operation of the army and Polish doctors.

Relief among Jews.

The Jews in Poland were always well organized and consequently their tragic condition after the downfall of Poland found them better prepared than the Poles to cope with the situation. Jewish community centers aided by the Joint Distribution Committee have done much to ease the plight of the Jews. Through the efforts of the Joint Committee, which had some funds at its disposal

and

and later secured more from American Jews, fairly large quantities of fats, flour and matzoth were imported from Balkan countries and Soviet Russia. These sources have since become inaccessible, and relief for poverty-stricken Jews is now largely dependent upon voluntary taxation of the wealthier Jews.

POLISH INDUSTRIAL PLANTS UNDER GERMAN OCCUPATION.

Damages due to Military Operation.

Polish industry as a whole suffered little from military operations during the Polish-German campaign, and with the exception of plants in and around Warsaw, practically the whole industry fell intact into German hands. Factories in and around Warsaw suffered the most. On the whole, losses in plants and equipment were about 25 percent (value). The losses in raw materials and manufactured products from bombs, shell, fire and requisitions are not yet known. In the Warsaw area most of the armament and ammunition plants were demolished or badly damaged. The "Pocisk" ammunition factory and the "Skoda" airplane works were completely destroyed by bombs.

The damage to industrial plants situated elsewhere in Poland was relatively small. Only minor losses were suffered by factories in Lublin, in Tomaszow (the Tomaszow Rayon Plant) and by a few factories in and around Radom and Czestochowa.

At the beginning the troops took possession of all factories. Most of the raw materials, supplies and manufactured goods needed by the war industry in Germany were confiscated and sent to the Reich. For a time, much of the machinery also was taken for scrap metal. Later, the policy was changed and equipment was not touched. There were even cases where confiscated machinery was returned.

Policy with regard to Polish Industries.

German policy regarding Polish industries became apparent after the civil administration came into power. All plants were divided into three general groups:

- (1) Former government and private war industries plants of major importance;
- (2) Factories considered important as auxiliaries to the war industry, and those which formerly had contracts from the Polish Army;
- (3) Other privately-owned plants.

The first group (see list below) was harnessed into the German war industry system and was soon in production. Factories in the second group (see list below) were given to German managing boards (Komissarische Leitung) and

instructed

instructed to begin production as soon as possible.

Polish Industrial Plants

Group No. 1

(Former Polish State armament plants and privately-owned war-industries plants now included in the German war-industry system).

Starachowickie Zaklady.
(Starachowice Iron & Steel Works).
Starachowice.

Stalowa Wola Steel and Arm
Plants.
in Stalowa Wola.

Panstwowe Zaklady Inzynierji.
(State Engineering Works)
in Warsaw.

Stowarzyszenie Mechanikow.
(Associated Mechanics)
in Warsaw.

Panstwowe Zaklady Tele i Radio-
techniczne.
(State Radio Works)
in Warsaw.

Zaklady Radiotechniczne "Marconi"
(Marconi Radio Company).

Airplane factories in Debica,
Mielec and other points in the
"Strategic Triangle".

Cegielski Plants in Rzeszow.

} Both of these are un-
derstood to be incor-
porated in the Hermann
Göring Werke. They
are supposed to be work-
ing at full capacity.
The directors are German
but a few of the en-
gineers are Poles.

The management and some
of the engineers are
German. A few Polish
engineers and office
workers have been re-
tained. Number of work-
men: about 1500 (all
Poles). Production:
Light tanks and auto-
motive parts).

Have German management.
Number of workmen: 450
(mostly Poles). Produc-
tion: trucks and parts).

Under German management.
A few Polish office per-
sonnel and about 800
workmen (Poles). Pro-
duction: radio equipment
for the German army.

Under German management.
Two Polish engineers re-
tained. Plant being re-
conditioned. Will manu-
facture transmitting
tubes for German field
stations.

Taken over by the Luft-
waffe.

All machinery and equip-
ment moved to Cegielski
plants in Poznan which
have been enlarged con-
siderably.

Management:

	Management: German. Personnel: all engineers and executives German. Number of workmen: about 3000 (all Poles). Pro- duction: heavy tanks, armored trains, "S" motor boats, special channel invasion barges.
Ammunition factories in Zagoz- dzon, Niedomice and elsewhere.	Reported as reconditioned and in operation.
State Nitrate Works "Moscice". in Tarnow.	Operating as a Wermacht ammunition plant.
Panstwowa Fabryka Karabinow. (State Rifle Works). Warsaw.	Under German management. Working to full capacity. Production: re boring and repairs.
Zaklady "Ursus". ("Ursus" Plants). near Warsaw.	German management. Engineers: Germans and Poles. Number of work- men: about 400 Poles, al- so some Germans. Pro- duction: Assembly of tanks from parts brought from Germany; miscellane- ous automotive parts.
Zaklady Ostrowieckie. (Ostrowiec Iron and Steel Works.)	German management. Production: Iron and steel products.

Group No. 2

(Polish factories operating as auxiliaries to
the German war industry).

Lilpop, Rau & Loewenstein. in Warsaw.	Have four German direc- tors. Personnel and workers all Poles. Pro- duction: automotive and miscellaneous iron and steel products.
Zaklady Elektrotechniczne Rohn, Zielinski i Ska. (Rohn, Zielinski Electrical Products Mfg. Co.) Warsaw.	German management con- nectéd with German Brown- Boveri. Employment re- duced to one-half. Pro- duction: electrical equip- ment.
Norblin, Bracia Buch i Werner. Warsaw.	Plants badly damaged. Only brass and copper rolling department work- ing. Operating under a Polish commisione ap- pointed by Germans.

Fabryka

Fabryka Kabli.
(Electric Cable Mfg. Co.)
Krakow.

German management. Personnel and workers about 700 (all Poles). Concern has been taken over by a Czech cable factory in Bratislava.

Polskie Fabryki Kabli i
Walcownie Miedzi.
(Polish Cable Factory and
Copper Rolling Mills).
Ozarow, near Warsaw.

Firm is in possession of the German Siemens. Plants show little activity.

Tomaszowska Fabryka
Sztucznego Jedwabiu.
(Tomaszow Rayon Plants)
in Tomaszow Rawski.

Factories badly damaged. Repairs under way. German management.

Plants in the third group appear to be of no importance to the Wehrmacht for the time being and are simply tolerated. Their condition is indeed difficult. Without funds and often without raw materials, hounded by tax collectors and hindered by German indifference and red tape these firms are making magnificent effort to save their plants and to place them in operation. Those that succeed in doing so not only protect the machinery and equipment from confiscation but also give employment to a certain number of people and protect them from being sent to work in the Reich. The outlook for these plants under German domination is not bright. They cannot hope to compete with German factories and will be liquidated if German industry resumes its normal production. Already only those plants receive metals and other raw materials which are more or less necessary to the Germans. These are rated as "Grossverbraucher" which gives them the right to file their requisitions with the head offices in Krakow. They are allotted materials on a quarterly basis. Manufacturers in the third group hope to secure a portion of the future trade with Russia and the Balkan states.

German Control over Polish Industries.

The "Treuhand" or trust representative has become an important institution in the German administration of industrial and commercial enterprises in conquered countries. In the beginning, even the Treuhander themselves had only a hazy notion as to how they should proceed but after a central office (Treuhandstelle) was created in Krakow, the system began to operate efficiently. Treuhander were assigned to Jewish firms and firms with capital belonging to enemy belligerents and also to those which had anything to do with Polish war industries. In industrial establishments the Treuhand's position is that of a super general manager exercising absolute power in the operation and management of the concern. The former managers and personnel are subordinate to him. A modification of the system used in some of the smaller

plants

plants provides for operation by the regular management for the account of the former owner and the Treuhander is paid a fancy salary. Plants formerly owned by the Polish State usually have Commission Managements (Komissarische Leitung) which are only a transitional form before eventual full expropriation. Often, in the case of privately owned plants, the Germans go through the motions of a purchase-sale transaction. Since the conditions of such a transaction are always one-sided, it does not differ much from outright expropriation. Change in title of ownership of a plant or firm is duly registered through court and land office records so the transfer, outwardly at least, is entirely legal.

Poles are gradually being used as Treuhanders and their number is increasing rapidly. A number of them are handling property and industrial firms formerly belonging to Jews. At first these positions were filled only by Poles who played up to the Germans but during the past year many Poles have been appointed by the Treuhandstelle who certainly have no pro-German sympathies. The Poles at first rejected these offers but now they accept them readily because of their impoverished condition and the desire to be occupied. Working for Germans in this capacity no longer is looked down upon by the Poles.

Employment of Poles in the German War Industries in Poland.

When the Germans occupied their country, the Poles regarded working for them as treason. Former directors, executives and engineers when approached by Germans with propositions to resume work in their former capacities invariably endeavored to evade the issue. Many were threatened with prison. A few, like the director of the Pionki powder works, preferred to commit suicide. In time, when the situation was thought out by the Poles, they decided for the following reasons to return to the factories:

- (a) employed workmen are less likely to be taken to Germany;
- (b) they will continue to maintain contact with their special work and will retain experience gained;
- (c) in their old plants they will be at an advantage over the invader thereby having a better chance to hinder work;
- (d) they can watch over and better protect property of the Polish State so it will be in the best working condition when it reverts to the rightful owners.

In so far as I was able to ascertain, sabotage in these plants is as yet only mild such as wasting time,

absences,

absences, delays, mislaying of instruments and tools, and so forth. Polish engineers in the "Ursus" plant near Warsaw told me there was a great deal of confusion in the war industry in the General Government. The plant has been divided into two separate divisions - a tank assembly section which is operated by German engineers and workmen to which Poles have no admittance, and the machine shop division employing about 300 Poles. This division has been working on a special type of automotive pump for over a year but the product is still in the experimental stages. Blueprints and specifications had to be returned to Berlin four times because of errors. The engineers claim these errors were quite obvious by looking closely at the prints but they went ahead and constructed scale models as instructed which, of course, would not work. Each correction took about three weeks to return from Berlin. During these periods most of the Polish workmen would stay at home or hunt for food out in the country leaving a skeleton gang in the division. The German management threatened to take drastic steps as these absences were demoralizing to the German end of the factory.

Salaries of Poles employed in the war industries have been fixed by regulations and can not exceed the following maximum monthly rates:

Executives	-	800 zlotys
Experienced engineers	-	500 "
Office clerks	- 300 -	500 "
Typists	-	200 "

Workers' wages are lower than the minimum rates provided in pre-war collective wage agreements and are insufficient in view of the high cost of living. Odd jobs such as food smuggling and selling of second-hand clothing help the working class to exist.

Control of Iron, Steel and other Metals.

The control of iron, steel and non-ferrous metal consumption along the lines of the four-year plan was introduced in the General Government in March 1940. Central metal control offices ("Bewirtschaftung Stelle fur Stahl and Eisen" and "Bewirtschaftung Stelle fur Metalle") were created in Krakow with branch offices in each of the four districts (Warschau, Krakau, Lublin and Radom). Detailed inventories of all metals on hand in plants and warehouses were required by April 1, 1940, after which date these supplies could not be touched without a permit (Verbrauschein). Sale of metals and purchase of scrap was restricted to a few German and German-controlled firms. Each factory in the General Government is required to submit quarterly reports showing what use is being made of metals and indicating the name of the firm which placed the orders. Factories which the Germans consider unnecessary are refused metals and other necessary raw material.

Every

Every bit of iron and steel scrap was collected and sent to Germany. Ruins of bombed buildings were thoroughly searched, large structures like bridges, steel framework, iron fencing, and so forth, were cut with torches.

The supply of copper and brass in the General Government is exhausted. Electric cable manufacturers are resorting to such substitutes as aluminum, zinc and iron for conductors, and a combination of reclaimed rubber, asphalt paper and rayon for insulation. Bakelite and ply-wood now substitute many metal parts. Lumber and other building materials are also rationed and require special permission before they can be obtained.

Expansion of Germany's War Industries in Poland.

According to information obtained from Polish engineers in Warsaw, the Germans at first intended to use Polish plants as an auxiliary war industry but it now appears that they intend to transfer a part of German industry to the General Government. This movement will depend, it is presumed, upon the effectiveness of destruction by the Royal Air Force.

Unconfirmed rumors indicate the Germans have reconditioned old plants and built some new ones in the Strategic Triangle area. It is known that considerable construction work has been going on in that area. According to other rumors several large synthetic gasoline plants, a "Buna" synthetic rubber plant and coal-derivative chemical plants are under construction in the Upper Silesian coal region.

Polish industries, in other words, though relatively small, are a decided asset to the German war machine. The location of these industries in relation to the German offensive in the east have increased their importance and may well become the center of the Reich's armament industry in the future if conditions over western Germany force plants to seek safety.

COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION.

Railways.

Practically all damages to the railway system in the General Government have been repaired and the trains for the most part are running normally. The damage to the new railway station in Warsaw has been repaired. Parts of the station have been completed in accordance with original Polish specifications. Much of the rolling stock which fell into Russian hands during the 1939 campaign has been returned. The subordinate Polish railway personnel has been retained but the office and higher positions are occupied by Germans. Ticket sellers and controllers, information clerks and conductors wear German railway uniforms and speak only German. Trains, however, are

announced

announced through a public address system in German and Polish. In the winter time trains seldom arrive on time. The express train from Berlin usually arrived two and three hours behind schedule. The extreme low temperatures were said to affect the lubricating systems. Locomotives assigned to the railway system in the General Government are old, second-rate engines. There has been a number of bad accidents due to reasons other than sabotage. A military train was derailed and completely smashed in Warsaw through the fault of a switch tower operator - a Volksdeutsch who had just taken the job over from a Pole. Poles are allowed to travel on the trains without special permits, except during the closed periods, but they cannot ride in first or second-class cars; these are reserved for the Herrenvolk. Jews are not allowed on the trains. They travel in horse carts.

With the approach of the Russian campaign, the railway lines were operated at maximum capacity - trains literally ran day and night in a continual stream. The Germans took great precautions to safeguard the lines; on each bridge in Warsaw they built wooden observation towers equipped with anti-aircraft and machine guns. Bridge-heads were carefully protected by bomb-shelters, trenches and barbed wire entanglements. A maze of entanglements lined both banks. It was forbidden to approach the river after sundown. To economize on gasoline, army trucks bringing up supplies from the west make the return trip by rail. I have seen hundreds of these trucks returning from the eastern front on express trains of flat cars.

Warsaw suburban electric trains and municipal trolley cars are operating normally. The power houses supplying these systems are fairly well supplied with fuel.

Postal System.

The executive personnel of the postal system is German; only the clerks and mail carriers are Poles. They wear their old uniforms with blue arm-bands bearing the words "General Government". The mail carriers appear to be undernourished; some of them become exhausted before they complete their rounds. The postal system, on the whole, operates efficiently. In the beginning, the old Polish stamps were used with German prints superimposed, later several new issues were released. The postal rates are as follows:

Domestic:	(in the General Government and to the Reich)	
Letter:	0.24 zloty	(\$0.048)
Post card:	0.12 zloty	(\$0.024)
Foreign:		
Letter:	0.50 zloty	(\$0.10)
Post card:	0.30 zloty	(\$0.06)

Mail to foreign countries must be left open and be presented personally with documents of identity to the

Central

Central Post Office. Air mail from the United States is received within three or four weeks. Ordinary mail sometimes takes months. The German censor has been paying little attention to American mail, and most of it is delivered untouched. Because of the strained relations between the United States and Germany, many Poles prefer not to receive American mail fearing it may attract the unfavorable attention of the Germans.

Telegraph.

The Central Telegraph Office and many of the cables were severely damaged during the bombing of Warsaw. These were rapidly repaired by the German troops under the direction of a German Major named Lehrl. It is to be noted that Lehrl was employed by the Polish Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs as consulting engineer in charge of technical installations during the instruction of the Central Telegraph Building in Warsaw. Poles are permitted to use the telegraph and may send messages in the General Government either in Polish or German. Messages to the Reich must be in German. All telegrams to foreign countries must be approved by the Gestapo before acceptance by the telegraph office.

AUTHORITIES IN THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT.

The "General Government" theoretically is an autonomous administrative unit; actually it is a province of the Reich. It is headed by Governor General Franck, once an unimportant lawyer in the small town of Beuthen, who also holds the title of Reichsminister. The seat of Government is at Krakow, chosen because of its central location. Territorially the General Government is divided into four districts: Krakow, Warschau, Lublin and Radom, each having a chief directly responsible to Franck. There are nine administrative divisions, as follows, each headed by a president:

1. Department of Internal Affairs:
2. Department of Foreign Affairs: Chief-Dr. Wullisch, former counsellor of the German Embassy in Warsaw. This Department is concerned with the liquidation of former diplomatic and consular offices in Poland.
3. Department of Finance: The Chief of this division is also head of the bank of issue.
4. Economic Department: Exercises control over production, distribution and consumption of metals, leather, textiles, fuels, chemicals and other materials.
5. Department of Agriculture: Agricultural policy, food supply, forests, fisheries.
6. Department

6. Department of Education and Culture: Exercises control over German and Polish schools, libraries, German cultural institutions, music, literature and art.
7. German Eastern Railways: Control all standard and narrow gauge railway lines in the country.
8. Department of Justice: Control of German and Polish courts and the bar. Germans have the usual three division courts (district or circuit, appellate and supreme). Poles have only district and appellate courts, the decisions of the latter being final. Poles have no means of appealing against decrees, regulations and other official decisions. The Polish Bar Association in Warsaw is now under the control of attorney named Dr. Edward Wendorff, former legal adviser to the German Embassy, a Polish citizen and well-known attorney in Warsaw before the war. He proved to be a German and has reorganized the Bar Association to suit requirements of the Department. He purged the Association of all prominent Poles, leaving only a few who were considered harmless.
9. Department of Posts.

Each Department maintains subordinate offices in each of the four districts through which government is exercised. The Chief of the Warsaw district is Dr. Fischer who officiates in the former Foreign Office building in Warsaw.

Decrees and regulatory announcements pertaining to the General Government as a whole are published in the official bulletin "Verordnungsblatt des Generalgouvernements". Similar bulletins are published for each district ("Amtsblatt des Gouverneurs des Distrikts"). Full texts of all decrees, regulations and so forth are published in compilation entitled "Das Recht des Generalgouvernements". Districts are divided into "powiats" (counties) each headed by German "starosts", further subdivided into "gminas" (townships) headed by "wojts" who are appointed from among local Germans or Poles having pro-German sympathies.

Central and district administrative offices are staffed by Germans, but Russians and Ukrainians are employed in many of the less important positions. Poles may be employed only in autonomous institutions such as managements of municipalities, municipal enterprises and public utilities. All of these institutions, however, are controlled by German officials. Up to a short time ago Poles were not admitted to German administrative offices and were required to submit their cases in writing. Recently this has changed and Poles are received frequently by

German

German officials on matters of importance. Germans, Russians and Ukrainians, of course, always have preference and are not required to stand in waiting lines.

The Gestapo and various affiliated German police formations constitute an authority separate from and often more powerful than the General Government. Nazi formations such as the SS, SA, Sebtschutz, Arbeitsdienst and others are not subordinated to the local administrative authorities in the General Government.

The Gestapo.

The numerical strength of the Gestapo in Warsaw is estimated at 1,000 officers and 5,000 men. They maintain their headquarters in the former Ministry of Cults and Education on Szucha Street (appropriately renamed Polzeistrasse) but have gradually branched out to other large and modern buildings in various parts of the city. Headquarters has approximately 400 officers, all of whom are billeted in a building on the opposite side of the street. For reasons of safety Gestapo officers do not live separately in other parts of the city. This gregariousness is true also of German civilians. It is very difficult to determine the set-up of headquarters but on the basis of my observations I should say that at least the following general divisions operate in Warsaw:

I. Political

- (a) Intelligence.
- (b) Records of arrested persons.
- (c) Summary court.
- (d) Jails and concentration camps.
- (e) Currency violations.

II. Requisitions

- (a) from Poles.
- (b) from Jews.

III. Jewish matters

IV. Records of foreigners

- (a) Expulsions and sojourn permits.

I have met at least four high Gestapo officers and several in the lower ranks who spoke excellent Polish. Three of these were Germans who had lived either in Poland or in the German part of Upper Silesia and have undergone special training to fit them for work in Poland. The fourth told me he was born in Vilna, that he had been a non-commissioned officer in the German Army in the last war, that he had been taken prisoner by the Russians and had learned Polish, Russian and Lithuanian. These were the men who gave leadership to the fifth column in Poland.

Extensive use has been made by the Gestapo of the Volksdeutsch, that is, Germans resident in Poland before

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the war (many of whom had Polish citizenship) or Poles born in areas since incorporated into the Reich who declared themselves Germans. These men were drafted into the Selbstschutz and given two months of intensive military training after which the more intelligent individuals possessing a good knowledge of Polish as well as other qualities, were transferred to the Gestapo. Such agents are extremely dangerous because of their excellent knowledge of the people, country and language. The inherent credulity of the Pole and his inability to understand (at first at least) that a German might speak Polish perfectly simplified matters for these agents. They are credited with having made many arrests among leading Poles, in party organizations and among innocent persons voicing discontent. Now the Poles are more careful; the "underground" possesses an accurate record of the Gestapo and Volksdeutsch marked for execution when the appropriate moment arrives. The rank and file are frequently shifted around the country, no detachment remaining in Warsaw more than two months.

With the outbreak of the Russian campaign, most of the first-class Gestapo outfits left simultaneously with the regulars and their places have been taken by second-rate reserves from France.

The equipment and set-up of the Gestapo in the General Government closely resembles those of the regular army. They have similar rifles, steel helmets, machine guns and even tanks and anti-tank guns. At least four medium tanks are on duty at all times in Warsaw, two being stationed in the Diet garden, but they have never seen action in the city. The Gestapo seldom march; they are driven in huge Diesel trucks fitted with benches seating forty men in full equipment. Certain of the former Diet buildings were also used by the Gestapo for billets, jails and garages. The front building, partly burned out, was used as a stable for horses. Basements of the other buildings were used for many months as prisons and many persons were executed in the rear gardens of such buildings. I lived in the Frscatti residential quarter which is very close to the Diet and frequently was awakened during the night by the sound of rifle volleys and pistol shots coming from the Diet garden. During the latter part of 1940 and throughout 1941 the Gestapo used the Dzielna, Pawiak and Mokotow prisons exclusively.

The Polish Police Force.

The Polish police force occupies a unique position in the German system. Its officers and men were required to take the oath of allegiance whereupon they were permitted to retain their status subordinate to the Department of Justice. They were used only as a municipal or district force for maintaining order and for the prosecution of criminal matters but not in political matters, which is the special domain of the Gestapo. Some of the officers refused to take the oath and were sent to

concentration

concentration camps. The members of the force carry revolvers and wear the regular uniforms and armllets with the legend "General Government". They have removed the white eagle from caps and instead wear the municipal emblem (in Warsaw the siren). It is generally known that the force cooperates closely with the Gestapo. It is presumed that many of the officers are Gestapo men disguised as Polish officers; there are also many Ukrainians recently assigned to the force. On the whole, the Polish police has a very bad reputation, as there is much graft and double-crossing. The Poles threaten to deal with them no less severely than with the Gestapo.

The Emissions Bank.

Shortly after the downfall of Poland enormous quantities of zlotys which were carried out by the fleeing Poles began to filter back from Hungary, Roumania and Russia. This circulation was much too great for the reduced area and undoubtedly was an important contributing factor to the inflation. Large scale smuggling of foreign currencies, diamonds and gold to these and other countries gave rise to universal speculation and exorbitant prices. To cope with the situation, the Germans called in all 500 and 100 zloty notes. Persons surrendering 200 zlotys or more in these denominations received 200 zlotys in stamped notes, the remainder was kept in deposit for exchange in the new issue at a later date. In view of the short period of a few days given for the surrender of these denominations and the small number of authorized banks in addition to the well-founded suspicions of the people who feared risking their savings, only a small percentage of the population in the General Government complied with the regulation. This percentage was even smaller in the provincial districts where many of the peasants were not aware of the new order. The notes were stamped in a primitive manner and counterfeiters did a flourishing business. For a few zlotys it was possible to stamp any number of 100 and 500 zloty notes. It is well known that German employees of the Emissions Bank also indulged in this business on a large scale, charging 20 and 30 percent. In fact, they soon cornered the market because the official stamp (which they used) was later improved and affixed only in a certain way which the outsiders could not match for a time. Many of these counterfeiters transferred their activities to the farm districts. When the stamped notes were later called in, more than one-half of them were confiscated because of alleged false stamps. I myself lost several hundred zlotys in this manner although they were stamped legally by the Emissions Bank. During May 1940, the remaining denominations (50, 20, 10, 5, 2 and 1 zloty notes) were redeemed without stamping or depositing. One year later a new 500 zloty note was placed in circulation thus completing the full set of paper currency. Coin circulation was badly depleted during 1940 by the hoarding of nickel and silver money by peasants who preferred this to paper money and a new issue of iron and tin alloy tokens was struck from the original Polish dies.

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The Emissions Bank in the General Government is nominally under Polish management. The currency it issues is printed only in Polish and bears the signature of Professor Mlynarski. All this is calculated to inspire confidence in the Poles. Mlynarski is only a figure head and powerless to override the decisions of the Department of Finance in Krakow. The present zloty is pegged to the German mark at a fixed rate equivalent to one-half the value of the mark. It is also pegged with respect to foreign currencies. The official rate of exchange against the American dollar is 5.00 zlotys. This rate prevailed ever since the country was conquered. Dollar transfers prior to the reciprocal blockade netted even less because of commissions deducted by German banks through which such transfer must first be routed. All funds transferred between the Reich and General Government are made on a clearing basis. Movement of funds between the two is controlled by the Devisenstelle in Krakow which will not release incoming transfers unless they are covered by an equivalent outflow to the Reich. German industrial, commercial and financial interests are given preferential treatment by the Devisenstelle. Consequently, transfers for Poles and foreigners often are deferred until the end of a given month when they can be charged against the surplus balance. No Pole or foreigner in the General Government can receive money from a bank without presenting a statement made under oath that he is an Aryan. In connection with the clearing system it is interesting to note that the Germans are using the old Polish customs system, including the tariff. The proceeds from import duties, fines and so forth are also embraced by the clearing system.

The situation as regards bank deposits is briefly as follows: the Postal Savings Bank (PKO) has discontinued payments and all savings therein may be regarded as lost. Communal savings (KKO) and some private banks pay 50 zlotys every two weeks on pre-war savings deposits. All other pre-war deposits have been blocked whereas post-war deposits are unrestricted.

EDUCATION - SCIENCE - ART

Education.

Only grammar schools and vocational schools are permitted in the General Government. Many of these were closed for weeks because of fuel shortage and epidemics. In areas incorporated into the Reich even primary schools are not permitted. With the outbreak of the German war against Russia, all school buildings were requisitioned by military hospitals. Higher institutions of learning are definitely closed and much of their property has been destroyed or confiscated. Primary education is supposed to be compulsory, the program of studies conforming more or less to that in use prior to the war except that the teaching of Polish history has been ruled out. Religion is taught. Text books have been "corrected" but

few

few have been published. All the former text books were confiscated in 1939 along with all books in the English or French languages. It is impossible to purchase even an English dictionary in the General Government. The German language was a compulsory subject for a time until the authorities decided "a slave nation should not know the language of its masters". Teachers of all subjects, including music and dancing, must register and may not give lessons until they are issued appropriate certificates. There are many people in Warsaw today secretly teaching English and French. Approximately 150 vocational schools have been authorized in Warsaw offering elementary courses in toolmaking, machine operation, electrical servicing, blue print reading, joinery and so forth.

High schools exist only for Germans and Volksdeutsch in Warsaw, Krakow and other larger cities. Former Polish high-school teachers hold secret classes of eight or ten pupils. Many of the pupils have passed graduation examinations and hold temporary certificates. Some of these classes have been discovered by the Gestapo and many pupils were arrested. Young girls are kept for this offense in the Pawiak prison, the boys are sent to Germany to work in factories.

University professors also give secret lectures and hold examinations, issuing ante-dated diploma certificates. All libraries and laboratories of scientific societies and higher institutions of learning either were destroyed or had their equipment taken to Germany. The following is a list of some of the institutions:

- The Physics Institute of Poland (Instytut Fizyki Polskiej), Warsaw.
- Pulawy Agricultural Institute (Instytut Pulawski) in Pulawy.
- The Aerodynamic Institute in Warsaw.
- The Free University (Wolna Wszechnica) in Warsaw; destroyed.
- Central Military Library (Centralna Biblioteka Worskowa) in Warsaw; burned (loss of over 100,000 volumes).
- The Rapperswil Library (Biblioteka Raperswilska); destroyed, (valuable documents on Polish political emigration in the nineteenth Century and manuscripts a total loss.)
- The Przedziecki Library (Biblioteka Przedzieckich); destroyed.
- Diet Library (Biblioteka Sejmowa) taken to Germany (valuable modern collections lost).
- The Hebraica Library (Biblioteka Judaistyczna); taken to Germany.
- Library of the French Institute (Biblioteka Instytutu) taken to Germany.
- Krasinski Library (Biblioteka Krasinskich); all the old manuscripts taken to Germany.
- Zamoyski Library in Warsaw (Biblioteka Zamoyskich); taken to Germany.

Czartoryski

Czartoryski Library in Krakow (Biblioteka Czartoryskich); taken to Germany.

University of Warsaw Library (Biblioteka Uniw. Warszawskiego); all valuable etchings taken to Germany.

Books in many of the smaller educational, provincial and military libraries were confiscated and destroyed. Archives of the Ministry of Education and most of the Treasury archives dating back to the Nineteenth Century were destroyed during the bombardment. The Germans confiscated all archives in the Central Archives Library in Warsaw pertaining to the Prussian Crusaders and subsequent periods (Eighteenth Century). In this connection it is interesting to note that the Prussian Crusader battle flags which were kept in the Wawel Palace in Krakow were recently "returned" by Governor Franck to the Reich.

A German university will soon be opened in Krakow. They proclaimed Krakow an ancient German city. Poznan has a national socialist university with an extremely pan-Germanic curriculum.

The Press.

Nothing can be published in the General Government without the permission of the German press authorities. Everything from a funeral notice to a visiting card must be censored. Under these conditions only publications as conforming to German and Nazi requirements may appear in the Polish language. The "Nowy Kurier Warszawski", "Nowy Kurier Krakowski", "Gazeta Radomska", "Glos Lubelski" are the best known German-published Polish daily newspapers. For the most part, these papers are poor translations of German propaganda texts, official press releases, cheap criminal stories and advertisements. The authors of articles appearing in these papers never sign their names. These publications termed "vipers" by the Poles, are not taken seriously. An illustrated weekly entitled "7 Dni" (Seven Days) and a weekly story magazine "Fala" (Wave) published by the same German-operated press syndicate are cheap, sensational and often pornographic, allegedly intended to demoralize the young people. The only other Polish publication is the weekly "Economic News" (Wiadomosci Gospodarcze) issued by the Warsaw Chamber of Commerce and containing Polish translations with interpretations of German regulations pertaining to business matters.

The publication of books is restricted to practical booklets on cooking, canning, economic dressing, breeding of poultry and rabbits, vegetable growing, and the manufacturing of soap and food substitutes. The oldest and best known bookstore, Gebethner i Wolf, was confiscated and the "Deutsche Buchhandlung" took possession of its premises, printing and distributing apparatus in Warsaw, Krakow and in other Polish cities. German censors combed the Polish libraries for books pertaining to Polish-German relations and books written by Jewish authors. Many books are barred without apparent reason.

The

The Theatre, Art, Music.

The arts are also controlled and regimented in accordance with Nazi dictates. In the General Government the arts "must be purged of all Jewish influence". No music may be played in public which does not conform to these requirements. A special censor checks all restaurant and coffee-house music programs to see that the music is safe. Incidentally, Chopin is blacklisted although the Berlin radio often broadcasts the famous Revolutionary Etude. To be on the safe side, many orchestras play the Danube waltzes over and over again.

The theatre in Warsaw is non-existent since the murder of the movie star Igo Sym who was a fifth columnist and manager of the Warsaw Municipal Theatre which is now exclusively German. The Slowacki Theatre in Krakow has been taken over and shows only German plays. There are in Warsaw about six or seven small vaudeville shows and cabarets, and about six motion picture houses showing ancient Polish films and much crude propaganda. Few Poles patronize the movies because the ticket price includes a tax for the German armed forces and therefore the Poles do not consider it "correct" to attend the movies.

It may be said that art today is non-existent in Poland. Ruined churches, demolished buildings, ravaged galleries, museums and monuments are reminders of the treasures the Poles once possessed. The National Museum and its priceless collection of old canvasses, armor, manuscripts, tapestries and so forth was burned to the ground. The Zacheta Fine Arts Gallery was partly destroyed and many of the paintings were confiscated. Matejko's masterpiece "The Battle of Grunwald" which used to hang in this Gallery was spirited away by the Poles before the Germans could reach it. Chopin's beautiful monument in the Lazienki Park in Warsaw was blasted off its pedestal and the bronze was given to Hitler as a present. The Mickiewicz and Grundwald monuments in Krakow were disposed of in the same manner. Copernicus' statue in Warsaw has been taken by the Germans who claimed he was a German. Much to the merriment of the people in Warsaw, the Germans removed the original placque "To Copernicus from his countrymen" and put in its place a new one reading "Dem Grossen Astronomen". It is rumored that Thorvaldsen's splendid equestrian statue of Prince Jozef Poniatowski may soon be transferred to Berlin.

WARSAW AFTER TWO YEARS OF GERMAN OCCUPATION.

Extent of Damages; Repairs.

According to statistics prepared by the Warsaw City Hall, 95 percent of the total number of buildings in the city were damaged by bombs and shells. Twenty-five percent were either completely demolished or made unfit for use and most of these have been dismantled. Some of the

plots

plots on which these buildings stood have been planted with grass; others are used as gardens by adjacent restaurants and coffee shops. Thirty-five percent were heavily damaged while thirty-five percent suffered slight damage. These are now being repaired. Much of the debris was utilized by the Germans in the construction of a large military air field in Bielany, a suburb of Warsaw, also for filling-in bomb-craters and marshy land on the outskirts. Demolition of dangerously ruined buildings was compulsory and charged to the owner. In the owner's absence the work was done by the city. All metal parts of buildings such as steel girders, iron radiators, pipes and so forth were taken by the Germans to be melted down. The repair of damaged buildings is also compulsory. If the owner does not possess sufficient funds, he can obtain a loan for the purpose from the Emissions Bank.

During the siege, Warsaw was criss-crossed with tank-traps, barricades, trenches and later ploughed up by bombs and heavy-calibre shells, some of the craters being wider than the streets on which they fell and many feet deep. This and the debris from ruined buildings made traffic on the streets impossible. The work done in cleaning up the city and repairing damaged sewer, gas and water mains, power and telephone lines has been tremendous.

Losses in People.

It is estimated that about 35,000 inhabitants lost their lives during the siege. This does not include the many thousands who died later from wounds, disease and exposure.

Present Population of Warsaw.

After the fall of Warsaw the population which numbered about 1,200,000 before the war, dropped to about 900,000 as a result of war conditions. The influx of great numbers of Jews into the Jewish quarter (later into the ghetto now numbering about 500,000), the heavy immigration of refugees from areas incorporated into the Reich and, finally, the large numbers of German civilians (officials, and refugees from the bombed areas) have swelled Warsaw's population to an estimated total of 1,500,000. This figure does not include the army, Gestapo and Nazi formations which it is impossible to estimate. This heavy increase and the large number of demolished buildings has created an acute housing problem, particularly as the Germans occupy the large modern apartments whereas the Poles, comprising the bulk of the population, are compelled to squeeze three or four persons into a room normally occupied by one person. Conditions in this respect are still worse in the ghetto where thirty and forty people to a room is not uncommon. The large increase in population is evidenced by the crowds on the streets and jammed street cars. Many people

have

have moved to the suburbs because of lower rents there. In October 1940, the city was divided into three separate quarters, the German, Polish and Jewish. The German quarter (shaded in green on enclosed map) embraces the most desirable parts of the city with most of the parks and best buildings. The Jewish quarter, now the "ghetto", conforms more or less to the outlines of the Jewish quarter before the war. This quarter is shaded in red on the enclosed map. The rest of the city is regarded as the Polish quarter. The purpose of this division is to keep the three nationality groups separated. When war with Russia threatened, the military authorities ruled against the creation of a purely German quarter as that would then become a special target for Russian bombers. Today, Poles are permitted to live in the German quarter unless their apartments are needed for military purposes or by hospitals.

Transportation.

The trolley system is functioning normally. The cars run more slowly than formerly so as to economize on fuel. Fares have been increased by twenty-five percent. The front part of the first car (Warsaw cars run in tandem) is reserved for Germans. The back of the first car and all of the second car are used by Poles. The ghetto has its own trolleys operating only within the enclosure. Horse drawn "droshkis" are not as numerous as in the old days because many of the horses have been commandeered. There are in the city only fifteen taxis which run for only a few days each month because of small gasoline rations. The deficiency in taxis and droshkies is made up partly by a new vehicle called the "riksha" - a tricycle with room for two passengers on a low bench slung between the two front wheels. The driver is usually a former student or some other unemployed white-collar worker.

General Aspect of the City.

Curfew hours are now from 11:00 p.m. to 5:00 a.m. The people are on their feet early as work begins at 6 a.m. and later. Office hours for Poles in the City Hall, for example, are from 7:30 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. with only a few minutes allowed for lunch. Pedestrian traffic is heavy in the center of the city during the day. In addition to Germans, in a variety of uniforms, there are large numbers of German civilians wearing the swastika button. The Nazi hand salutes and "Heil Hitler" are much more common in Warsaw than in Berlin. Poles and Germans keep apart. There is no intermingling socially. German soldiers have strict orders not to contact Poles in any way whatsoever. Generally speaking, the man in the street is shabbily dressed. A well-dressed man stands out and is regarded with more or less suspicion. The women manage to dress respectably but in most cases it is evident that the last pieces of clothing are being worn and that in a short time no amount of ingenuity will supplement

materials.

materials. Practically no materials are available in Warsaw except "black" goods which command fantastic prices. Exceptionally well-dressed women are very rare. They are out of place in the surroundings. The lack of footwear has become a grave problem. In the summer the women clatter about in wooden sandals. Winter shoes of quality for women and men are not available unless purchased from secret sources at very high prices. Cheap leather uppers fitted with wooden soles and heels have appeared in some of the stores.

During the cold winter months when it is below zero in apartments, people seek cheer and warmth in the eating places. There at least they forget about the war, cold, hunger and tragedy. When the weather becomes warmer they go to outdoor restaurants and cafes where they listen to music and whisper politics with their friends. Some of the restaurants have signs posted on the walls requesting customers to refrain from conversing on political topics. The menus in eating places are very modest. In August, 1941 one of the leading restaurants in the city offered for dinner two or three kinds of sandwiches (small pieces of black bread covered with a little cheese, herring or sardine) or a small tomato stuffed with crumbs, a small piece of fried fish, an omelet or potato cake and ersatz custard with fruit juice as dessert. Such a meal costs about 15 zlotys (\$3.00). A dinner with a small piece of meat, when available, increases the price to around 25 zlotys (\$5.00). Beer is reserved for Germans and none can be sold to Poles but there is an abundance of vodka. I have heard of Polish workmen receiving a part of their wages in this commodity. Certain restaurants are reserved only for Germans, others only for Poles. Many of the smaller Polish restaurants have notices posted by the German civilian administration forbidding Germans in uniform to enter.

Army and Gestapo motor vehicles comprise 90 percent of the street traffic with only a sprinkling of trolleys, droshkies, bicycles and "rikshas". Traffic is regulated by lights and by policemen wearing Polish uniforms at the more important intersections. They salute German and Gestapo officers. Many people have been run over and killed by German vehicles. German drivers very often drive along the edge of the sidewalks at full speed and people have been hurt in this manner.

Newspaper boys ply their trade as in the old days. Newspaper stands carry a full line of German magazines and newspapers, and Russian, Ukrainian and sometimes Italian and Paris French papers.

For a time, beggars were numerous in Warsaw but they have been removed from the streets by the Polish police. However, singing or playing on musical instruments on the streets is a form of begging which is tolerated. It is almost impossible to walk along any street in the city without encountering musical ensembles (sometimes numbering ten or more players), vocal quartets or individual players and singers. These are unemployed orchestra

players

Players and artists of talent. I have seen them perform for hours during the cold weather, their fingers numb and their voices hoarse. The hat is passed around after each number and they are grateful for anything they receive. Small children and old beggars frequently sing the Polish anthem or Polish Army songs. Many have been arrested for this. Crippled Polish soldiers begging in their uniforms is a particularly pitiful sight. When dusk falls, elderly women in mourning stand in doorways with palms outstretched. Some of these unfortunates were once wealthy, and some even belonged to the aristocracy.

At certain hours of the day, loud-speakers in the streets and squares blare musical selections and give the news in Polish transmitted from the German radio station in Krakow. The transmission opens with the old bugle time-signal from the tower of St. Mary's church in Krakow just as was done in the old days by the Polish Broadcasting Company. Naturally, the news and comments are violently anti-British and anti-American. Groups of passers-by with nothing better to do stand around and listen. They are careful not to speak their minds but their expressions and glances are eloquent.

Stores close early, usually around 4 p.m. Eating places are open until 10 p.m. On one of the principal streets (Nowy Swiat) in Warsaw there are drugstores, candy shops, grocery stores, barber shops, hair dressers, shoe stores, tobacco shops, book stores, gift shops, opticians and stores selling photographic materials (no cameras or films available); haberdashers, flower shops, jewelers and watch makers, pawn shops, restaurants, cafeterias and bars, and stores selling luggage and travel equipment, stationery, hardware, paints and varnishes, and electrical equipment. Many of the larger stores on this street have been taken by German firms such as stores selling sporting goods (only for Germans), china and tableware (only for Germans), books (only for Germans), camera supplies, paints, and varnishes, food stuffs (only for Germans), dry goods (only for Germans), clothing (only for Germans), drugs (only for Germans), typewriters, office supplies, radios (only for Germans), gift shops, musical instruments, liquors, machinery and hardware.

Streets used by the Germans have been given German names, usually translations of the Polish titles, but only a few of the Polish name plates have been removed. Pilsudski Plac has been renamed Adolf Hitler Platz, Wilson Street has been renamed Weichselstrasse.

The Lazienki Park, the largest and oldest in the city, is closed for Poles. It is rumored that the Royal Palace in this Park is now occupied by a high German official. The Belweder Palace adjoining the Park has been completely renovated, possibly for some high official. The former Palace of the Council of Ministers has been joined to the adjacent Hotel Bristol, both being used as a German club and "Beamtenheim". The Hotel Europe is occupied only by German officers. Military headquarters for the city are maintained in the guard

house

house opposite the Hotel Europe; the guard is mounted every day at 1:00 p.m. with much ceremony. German holidays or the arrival of a distinguished visitor call for the usual outburst of red flags and swastikas. Parades sometimes bottle up traffic for hours.

There is not a church in Warsaw that has not been damaged. Many of them, like the Holy Cross Church, were strafed from the air by Nazi machine gunners. The holes in the roofs have been patched but it will take a long time before the wrecked altars and interiors are repaired. Several churches received direct hits from bombs and shells, others were badly burned. Services in all churches are conducted regularly; sermons are restricted to the Gospel and short comments with no allusions to the political situation. A great many of the leading priests have been sent to concentration camps. Practically all priests have been arrested at one time or another and put through an intensive "neutralizing" process and released. Raids on church property are frequent. Shortly before my departure the premises of the Capucine cloister in Warsaw were raided, property was confiscated and the monks were arrested.

All sport clubs have been taken over by the Germans. The "Legja" stadium and adjacent track, football fields and tennis courts now constitute a German athletic center. All yacht clubs on the river were destroyed except two which now belong to the Gestapo and civil administration. Poles are not permitted to bathe or boat on the river within city limits.

THE UNDERGROUND.

Beneath its mask of indifference and civility, Warsaw burns with a fierce hatred of the invader and longs intensely for the day when it will be able to strike back. That day, I believe, will be a bloody one in Warsaw. I have often heard Polish women threaten to give no quarter even to German women and children. Meanwhile, the Poles mind their own business and try not to provoke the Germans. The people are disciplined, morale is excellent, everybody believes in ultimate victory. The young people particularly are full of optimism and fighting spirit. Many of them are connected directly or indirectly with the underground where they often are given dangerous assignments. Girls distribute underground literature and do courier work. Many have been caught at this and executed. The boys are given theoretical instruction in street fighting, in the use of German firearms, tactics and other necessary subjects. The organization of the underground is intangible and no amount of curiosity will disclose much about it. Betrayals and arrests have been frequent; consequently, every possible precaution is taken. From what I was able to learn from people who undoubtedly had been initiated, the lowest unit is composed of three persons working together.

Only

Only one member of the team has contact with a member of another trio, thus reducing the possibility of disclosure to a minimum. Only the key men at the top know the whole structure, its strength and plans. From my conversations with Poles, it seems that the underground has two separate sub-divisions: (a) army officers in hiding and (b) civilians. I personally know several Polish officers of high rank (a colonel, a major, two captains and three lieutenants) who live in Warsaw under false names and work in the underground. They use false documents of identity prepared on forms and bearing seals of former Polish administrative offices in areas which later were taken by Soviet Russia. Many of these officers are employed in the Warsaw City Hall, others work as laborers. The military, or ranking, sub-division maintains contact with the Polish Government in London through two secret short-wave transmitters in Warsaw working through a certain short-wave station in Switzerland. From time to time couriers are sent into the General Government by the London Government. A few have been dropped by parachute from British bombers around Poznan. I have had good evidence of the existence of the secret organization in conjunction with an escaped British prisoner. This fellow, a corporal of engineers, was taken by the Germans during the drive through Belgium and kept in a prisoner-of-war camp near Thorn. He escaped from a train when being transferred to another camp and made his way eastward pretending to be a deaf-mute. On reaching the border of the General Government near Modlin he had the good fortune to encounter a former Polish army officer who took him across, obtained a false document, provided him with a bicycle and convoyed him to Warsaw where he delivered him to me, presuming it my duty to take care of the Britisher. After taking the necessary precautions, I turned him over to a friend who gave him refuge in the suburbs and notified the underground. In time, the underground contacted him and gave him a safe hiding place. Shortly before leaving Warsaw I had occasion to speak with the corporal, who appeared to be in excellent spirits, well cared for but aching to do something useful.

The underground publishes about fourteen different newspapers (about 5 inches x 6 inches). These appear at intervals of a week or ten days and contain resumés of Polish radio broadcasts from London and elsewhere and short "pep" articles as well as all available information regarding the attitude of the United States and American arms production. Some of these periodicals differ somewhat in viewpoint on certain political subjects such as the Jewish question, cooperation with the peasants and evaluation of the former Polish Government. These may well be the fore-runners of the old bug bear--party politics. Remnants of the old National Democratic Party (many of whom were arrested just before the outbreak of the war with the Soviet Union) advocate, for example, closer cooperation with Russia, a radical settlement of the Jewish problem in Poland and a monarchial form of government.

The effect of the underground on the masses of the population manifests itself only in harmless demonstrations

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on Polish national holidays and so forth. These include refraining from purchasing "viper" newspapers and riding on trolleys on certain pre-determined holidays, the placing of flowers on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier and military monuments on national anniversaries and refraining from patronizing the movies in general. On September 1, 1940, in demonstration against the renaming of Pilsudski Square, all Poles in Warsaw remained indoors in accordance with orders received from the underground. On August 15, 1940 (Soldier's Day) wreaths and flowers were secretly placed on the Unknown Soldier's cenotaph, the Aviator's monument on Plac Zbawiciela and at the foot of the Engineer's monument on Topolwa Street. At the cenotaph, red and white flowers were strewn separately so as to form the Polish national colors. Numerous arrests were made. Many students were arrested when attempting to place a wreath with the colors of the order of Virtuti Militari on the cenotaph. At Plac Zbawiciela a round-up was made and many women were arrested. Afterwards, Jews were brought to the scene and made to trample the flowers. On the day of Paderewski's funeral his photograph was placed on the Unknown Soldier's tomb and decorated with flowers. It was removed almost immediately by the Germans. A funeral service held for him in the Holy Cross Church was attended by crowds.

General de Gaulle's instructions for occupied France regarding the "V" campaign were complied with also in Poland on orders from the underground. On the morning of July 14, 1941, the Poles chalked "V"s on the outer doors of the Palais Bruhl (headquarters of the Warsaw District Chief), on the granite lions in front of the former Council of Ministers and on many other German government buildings as well as on German automotive vehicles. Street car employees decorated each trolley with chalked "V"s. On the outskirts "V"s were seen everywhere - on fences, walls, sidewalks and pavements. These were placed by Polish workmen returning in the early morning from night shifts. Three days later the Germans broke out with a counter campaign appropriating the "V" as their own symbol. They plastered paper V's wherever space was found. Street surfaces were painted with enormous white V's six feet long with slogans in Polish and German: "Germany will be victorious on all fronts. Huge wooden V's were erected on building fronts and on a dais in the middle of Adolf Hitler Platz. This V was soon smeared with all kinds of uncomplimentary remarks, so the Germans posted a Polish policeman to guard it. The Germans had difficulty in attaching the V to an appropriate German word, so they let it go as "Viktoria". The word is alien to the German language. Poles ridiculed the make-shift suggesting "verloren" (lost) instead as more appropriate. This word was frequently written in by the Poles after the German V's. On August 18, 1941 German planes scattered paper V's with the usual slogans. In three of the busiest squares the Germans erected large bill-boards on which they painted maps of Europe showing the advances of their forces into Russia. The Russian areas were painted black, making an ideal black-board.

It

It was not long before the Poles chalked "V"s in these spaces and, to make sure there would be no misunderstanding as to their identity, they added "RAF" beneath. These were washed off the next day and the Germans placed their own V's instead. On the following night several bottles of white paint were smashed against the boards disfiguring the maps.

A potent force in the underground which has not yet manifested itself is the working class. This class is the only part of the population which possessed an underground organization at the time the Germans conquered the country. At one time socialist, later inherited by the communists - this organization is at present lying low apparently undergoing reorganization and awaiting developments. The military and civilian underground is no doubt making efforts to absorb this organization. Many of its members already participate in the general work underground. The Polish Government's policy of cooperation with the Soviets has done much to bring these two organizations together. Likewise the terrible sufferings during the siege and subsequent persecutions by the Gestapo also have welded the working class and the former intelligentsia. Everybody in Warsaw today is a worker. Many of the former white collar class are now working as physical laborers. Class differences have already disappeared. The peasant class is not embraced by conspiratory work probably because of inferior intelligence and indifference.

Acts of Violence.

It is impossible to state with any degree of accuracy if any of the acts of violence committed against Germans and German property in the General Government can be accredited to the underground. The murder of spy Igo Sym, the burning of supplies of hay for the army, the derailment of several trains may or may not have been the work of the underground. It is my impression that the underground is biding its time for more favorable conditions before expanding its activities.

General Opinion in Poland regarding the Political Situation.

At the outset, Poles were anything but favorably disposed toward the former Polish Government, which they blamed for their plight. In time, however, public opinion realized that the catastrophe was unavoidable and no particular government or policy could have acceded to the German demands in a manner compatible with Polish honor. Many see mitigating circumstances in the government's strenuous efforts to enlist the support of other powers and feel that it cannot be held responsible if that support did not materialize. Poland's military forces, they claim, were altogether inadequate to meet the terrific mechanized onslaught--a force which even the combined British, French and Belgian Armies were unable to check.

The

The creation of the new Polish Government in London was well received on the whole. "Any government is better than none", they say "but later, we shall see". General Sikorski is regarded as a good organizer but not necessarily a good Commander-in-Chief. Paderewski enjoyed the best reputation of all and his death was sincerely regretted. The other members of Sikorski's Cabinet excite little interest with the exception of the Jewish element which is severely criticised. Everybody in Warsaw seems to agree that no Jews will be allowed in the government that will be constituted in Poland after the war. The people in Warsaw consider rightly that they did a lot to uphold Poland's honor even in defeat and will demand their share in determining Poland's political structure and government after the war. The Poles have information of friction and petty partisanship among the leaders in London who also have come in for a good measure of criticism. Sikorski's agreement with the Soviets was received with mixed feelings, the only immediate good seen in the move was the releasing of interned Poles from Russian prisons and camps (that is, those who were still alive). The possibility of the Bolsheviks overrunning Poland in the event of an Allied victory is also discussed with misgivings. Some prefer the Germans to the Bolsheviks as masters.

The Poles have despaired entirely of the British. If the war is to be won, they say, only the United States can swing the victory. It is hoped fervently that Great Britain will not have too much to say in the post-war arrangement of Europe.

The Poles believe that even under a system of "collective security" the European Continent will be dominated either by Great Britain or the United States. They prefer the United States. President Roosevelt is the idol of every Pole. On the day of his re-election services of thanksgiving were held in churches of all creeds in Warsaw.

Polish radio transmissions from London are listened to in secret although it is believed that most of the material sent out is not worth the risk involved in listening to it. Much of it proves that the authorities in London are not up-to-date on information concerning conditions in Poland. The news broadcasts are altogether too brief, the time allotted being from ten to fifteen minutes or about one-half the time given to the Czechs. From time to time London indulges in sending out false alarms. On January 29, 1941 it broadcast a warning to Warsaw of German intentions to stage provocative Polish patriotic demonstrations in order to arrest the participants, apparently forgetting that the warning was also intercepted by the Germans. Needless to say, nothing ever happened. A good proportion of the broadcasting time would appear to be wasted on historical topics or religious matters.

The Russo-German War.

The outbreak of hostilities between Germany and Soviet Russia was not a surprise for the Poles. They had

addressed

witnessed for two months in advance the massing of troops and equipment. Neither side involved in this new conflict is the object of any love on the part of the Poles who feel that at least both of these powerful enemies of Poland will be weakened if not defeated. Aside from that, the excitement of the new situation was welcome. The Germans become nervous. German women and children were sent down to Czechoslovakia. The black-out was rigidly enforced. On June 23, 1941, at 6 p.m. six Soviet bombers swooped down on the city with engines cut out and dropped six bombs without even a shot being fired from the German anti-aircraft batteries. The first bomb struck a trolley car killing 40 Poles but no Germans, the other bombs struck in various parts of the city doing very little damage. Two night raids followed with a number of bombs dropped on the outskirts with no damage of importance. Alarms were quite frequent after that and while no large raids were made, it had an effect on the Germans whose nerves were very jumpy. When walking along the streets they would keep looking up into the sky. During one alarm I happened to be in a trolley which was crowded with Poles and Germans. Two officers could not get out fast enough so they jumped through the car windows and dashed to the nearest air-raid shelter.

For the most part soldiers with light wounds are treated in Warsaw. In addition to hospitals and schools many private apartments have been commandeered as dressing stations. The wounded are delivered in ambulances, busses and even trolley cars. Wounded officers are transported to the rear in old Junkers planes. I have seen fleets of 70 or 80 of these planes thunder over Warsaw each day between 5 and 6 p.m. headed westward. Russian wounded and prisoners came through Warsaw in small numbers. The wounded refused to permit German doctors and nurses near them, they demanded to be treated by Polish doctors. Prisoners were very poorly clothed and many were barefoot. While I was watching a group passing, I heard one of them call out in Russian that the Germans had stripped them of their uniforms and the Poles must not think the Soviet Army was ragged. Another shouted loudly, "soon we shall be in Warsaw". At certain points of the city where the prisoners were concentrated, Poles would offer them cigarettes, food and even such clothing as could be spared.

A half-hearted attempt was made by the Germans to create among the Poles a feeling of hatred for the Bolsheviks. They put up posters picturing a Bolshevik, with the red star on his cap, tearing Christ from the cross, above the legend "Antichrist". The Germans were probably surprised to find some of the posters the next day with the star replaced by the swastika.

British Intelligence in the General Government.

There are current in Warsaw many rumors which seem to be fantastic regarding the alleged activities of the British Intelligence Service in Warsaw, but I have never been able to satisfy myself as to the truth of such rumors. I doubt very much that the British have any observers in Warsaw.